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The concluding study of Britain's economic crisis

III – Britain Tries Economic Planning

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FOR many months before the end of the second World War it was clear that the British people were going to face the domestic problems of peace in an aggressive spirit. The pre-war attitude of combined surprise, lethargy and complacence towards mass unemployment and declining staple industries had disappeared. Something had happened—perhaps the amazing military recoveries after all-but-fatal reverses or possibly the spurt of technical invention and production — to inject new confidence and ambition into the body politic. Building a country fit for heroes to live in was no longer a bitter jest of the dismal twenties but, freshly phrased, a practical and necessary program.

It was in this spirit that the voters paid a grateful and, for the most part, respectful farewell to Winston Churchill and his government in the summer of 1945 and went over to the Labor Party. Churchill, they reasoned, could and did move his people to incredible sacrifice and effort in the face of almost certain disaster from abroad. But when it came to the next task, the improvement of the lot of the common man at home, the common man at home must direct the job. So, moving in a landslide, they increased Labor's representation in the House of Commons from 164 to 393, giving the party a majority of 157 over all other parties and groups combined.

With the perspective of two years on the temper and events of the summer of 1945, it appears that although the energy and courage of those days are undiminished, the voters and the men they elected underestimated two factors: the importance of Britain's foreign economic relationships and the chance of accidents. The old and beautiful words

> I will not cease from mental fight,
> Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
> Till we have built Jerusalem
> In England's green and pleasant land

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were often sung in 1945, as they are today, but too often without the understanding that England, least of all, can build a new Jerusalem apart and away from the intricate international network. Accidents, too, will happen, even to planners; and when they happen to planners they are sometimes more difficult to cope with than when they happen to improvisers.

In the Labor Party's 1945 election program, *Let Us Face the Future,* the doctrines held by the party for a quarter of a century were set forth for the post-war voters. The party promised, if elected, to work towards a national minimum standard of life, supported by social insurance, family allowances and a national health service. The extension of education, the provision of adequate housing for all and stronger control of the use of land were endorsed. Nationalization of the Bank of England, the fuel and power industries, inland transport and the iron and steel industry were in the immediate program. This, together with planned investment for essential industries, was expected to guarantee and maintain full employment.

In this program for a fuller life for the common man, where were the exports and where was the foreign exchange which bought most of his food and working materials and furnished many of his luxuries?

This early lack of realism was spotted by the Opposition in the King's speech opening the first session of the Labor Parliament on August 15, 1945. The Royal Address covered the nationalization, housing and social legislation program in some detail, but with regard to the underlying difficulty there were only these words: "My government will take up with energy the tasks . . . of expanding our export trade." Oliver Lyttleton, former President of the Board of Trade, at once hacked away at the program, saying that "while the gracious speech refers to certain matters of domestic concern of no great urgency . . . the most urgent of all subjects, upon which little thought or work can have been expended, the very kernal of the whole of our economic position and future, is passed by in silence."

Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, denied that his government had failed to look upon the outer world and promised to "take such steps as we can, as speedily and as actively as we can, to bring the balance of overseas trade as rapidly towards equilibrium as possible." Dalton then dwelt at far greater length upon the nationalization of the Bank of England and the control and planning of investment.

The Labor government had to learn the hard way. For the delay, there is much excuse. In every country the story was the same. While the war was going on, men had dreamed of the days of peace and the better homes, greater opportunities and more satisfying work they hoped to have when the war was over. Their eyes turned to small localities and domestic tasks, away from world problems and entangling alliances, economic or otherwise. Britain unfortunately could not afford, for one week or

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one month, to let her attention wander from the task of selling enough abroad so that she could buy food and raw materials.

The Labor Government, however, spent its first autumn nationalizing the Bank of England—a project of doubtful usefulness in creating a happier Britain, except perhaps in the far distant future—and planning for government ownership of coal mines on the ground that the industry was inefficient, badly equipped and the sources of industrial unrest of long standing. Both of these planks in the platform were at least a quarter of a century old.

The first real shock was the abrupt termination of lend lease by order of President Truman on August 21, 1945. Prime Minister Attlee informed the House of Commons that he had not expected it to end quite so soon and disclosed the fact that the foreign deficit was "immense." By September 11 a British delegation was in Washington discussing the terms of a future Anglo-American loan agreement. Food shipments were beginning to come from the dominions as gifts, but in relation to the size of the problem they were mere driblets. One aspect of the nation's postwar problem was now clear: Britain was not in a position to buy foreign food on anything like the prewar scale.

Through the work of the British and American loan negotiating committees in Washington in the autumn of 1945 the details of Britain's economic position were publicized to a degree that forced the British government to center on production for export from this time forward. This is not to suggest that up to this time there was either concealment of the facts or reluctance to grip any problem which was demonstrably central. It is simply a reminder of the fact (of which no one in Britain should have needed a reminder) that political tenets, like machinery, can become obsolescent in new market conditions.

DECLINING IMPORTS

A British White Paper published on December 6, 1945, gave the level of exports necessary to pay for the pre-war volume of imports into Britain as 75 per cent more than before the war, because of the country's foreign financial losses and foreign debts. Lord Keynes, who had never entertained any illusions about Britain's financial position or had his attention diverted from it, told the House of Lords a few days later that the British delegation in Washington found "that it was not our past performance or our present weakness but our future prospects of recovery and our intention to face the world boldly that we had to demonstrate."

The Labor government had to face a barrage of hostile Parliamentary criticism of the terms of the loan from the Right and from the Left. Its powerful majority pushed the bill through, but there were many abstentions and 23 Labor members voted with the Conservatives against the bill. But now the thistle was firmly gripped. The government's effort was increasing-

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ly directed towards the improvement of production for export and the reduction of imports through the continuation of rationing and wartime "austerity."

What was said by the government was forceful and almost adequate but what was done was not enough. Appeals to increase production and to meet the export figure were eloquent and frequent. But it was easy to see that the lesson was not fully learned when the reports of the Prime Minister and the Lord President of the Council, Mr. Herbert Morrison, to the annual Labor Party conference in Bournemouth in June, 1946, dealt mostly with "the Britain of our dreams and the world of our desires" (Mr. Attlee) and "entering upon a new and better social period" (Mr. Morrison).

The planned nationalization of about 20 per cent of the country's economy was proceeding on its way. The transfer to state ownership of the Bank of England, coal mining, civil aviation and telecommunications was achieved by the end of 1946 and plans were formulated for the nationalization of iron and steel plants and the transport services. The activities of the Liverpool cotton market were transferred to the government and a plan for the control of agriculture with guaranteed prices and markets was announced. The social services were extended and unified until in fact, as Lord Beveridge had demanded, they covered all Englishmen "from the cradle to the grave."

Beginnings were made in aiding the sector of British industry scheduled to remain in private hands. Early in its career the government announced its intention of setting up "working parties" (tripartite committees made up of representatives of employers, trade unions and the public) for 15 industries. Cotton was one of the first to report, and in response the government offered to pay 25 per cent of the cost of the mechanical re-equipment of grouped mills. After May 1, 1947, firms grouped in units of not less than 500,000 spindles were able to claim the cash grant and to receive priority delivery terms. By this time the working party reports published included hosiery, linoleum, boots and shoes, and wool. In some of these reports the defects of such studies in the inter-war years were apparent, for their authors dwelt upon known defects and desirable improvements in the familiar passive way.

Serious shocks and dislocations were on their way. Bread and flour rationing was introduced on July 21, 1946, because of an imminent slowing down of foreign supplies. Britain still had enough foreign exchange to pay for necessary supplies, for the American loan and the Canadian loan paralleling it were being drawn upon only gradually. But shipping difficulties, the British harvest and the drain of British shipments to Germany and other countries were all unknown quantities on which the Minister of Food dared not put the most favorable interpretation.

The coal crisis which was to dislocate the whole British economic structure was already in the making.

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Although supplies were unusually low in the summer of 1946, the Minister of Fuel, Emanuel Shinwell, continued to refuse to ration coal and appeared to rest content on the knowledge that the weekly output of the mines showed a perceptible improvement. It was common knowledge at the time that domestic consumption was rising and that reconverted industry was demanding far larger quantities of fuel than in the year before.

COAL CRISIS

By October, 1946, the amount of coal in stock for the coming winter was only 10,900,000 tons, or about 3,000,000 tons less than on the corresponding date a year before. The Minister of Fuel, reproached with lack of planning or with planning for an unusually mild winter, replied that everybody seemed to know that there was to be a coal crisis except the Minister of Fuel.

The coal crisis came in December, when a number of factories closed because of failure of fuel supplies. The government announced a coal saving plan for industry effective at the end of the month. Early in 1947, just after the January 1 "Vesting Day" for the formal taking over of the mines by the state, it prepared a new coal allocation plan. This never went into effect because of the plague of weather which came upon Britain early in 1947 and lasted through March.

Gales, snow, ice, rain and floods now disrupted transport, impeded production and altered Britain's export position for the worse. Factories closed and unemployment reached 2,000,000 in February. Crops were injured and serious losses of farm animals occurred.

In the face of the altered circumstances the government had to delay the publication of its promised survey of the economic situation of the country until the figures and forecasts could be revised. The White Paper, *Economic Survey for 1947* —called by the *Times Literary Supplement* the "most fateful publication that the *Literary Supplement* has needed to record since . . . the declaration of war against Germany"—came out on February 21, in the midst of the coal crisis. The Labor Government was indeed learning the hard way.

The Prime Minister's brief introduction said nothing about "the Britain of our dreams" but demanded the expansion of production to "obtain the essential imports of food, raw materials and machinery which are vital to maintain our standard of living at its present level." He called upon the men and women of Britain to devote themselves "unflinchingly" to winning the economic fight as they won the six-year military war. In the report itself there are eloquent calls to strip for action and to produce, for "our national existence becomes quite impossible if we cannot produce enough coal and electric power."

The situation as described in the *Economic Survey* was a kind of economic Dunkerque, and came with almost as much surprise, for exports were rising in 1946 and by the fourth quarter had reached 111

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per cent of the pre-war volume. But purchasing power abroad was increasingly short, for Britain had to get most of her food and raw materials in the "hard currency" countries of the United States, Canada and Argentina to the extent of 42 per cent of her imports, while she could sell very little (only 14 per cent) in those areas, and was forced to sell to the "soft currency" countries whose exchange was of little use to her at the moment.

At the time of writing the situation has become worse. Exports for the first quarter of 1947 have fallen back to last summer's volume and the adverse balance has been increasing because of a higher level of imports. Britain knows very well that this higher level of imports from dollar countries cannot continue, as Chancellor of the Exchequer Dalton's budget attempt to tax American cigarettes off of the import bill shows. The American loan is running out faster than was expected, and by the middle of May, after 10 months of use, about half of it had been drawn.

The general place of planning in the execution of the Labor government's program has been somewhat obscure until recently. Partial nationalization was obviously part of a plan formed years before the election of 1945, and "planned investment" was mentioned in the King's speech opening the first session of Parliament. Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, produced quite a tempest in opposition ranks when he suddenly mentioned a five-year nationalization plan in the House of Commons in the following November, and he was attacked for going far beyond the King's speech.

According to the *Economic Survey* the government began to build up administrative machinery for economic planning "shortly after the end of the war" and gave "some account" of it in the House of Commons in February, 1946. No planning officer was appointed, however, until the end of March, 1947, when Sir Edwin Plowden, formerly chief executive of the Ministry of Aircraft Production, accepted the post of head of the interdepartmental planning staff.

It looks as if planning on any general scale has appeared after the fact, and that Britain still lacks anything approaching the constructive outlook of the Monnet Plan in France. The handicaps have been great. The heritage of traditional socialist doctrine prevented the Labor Party from taking a fresh view of the post-war crisis; some kind of ill luck, perhaps deserved, dogged the steps of the Minister of Fuel and Power in whatever plans he may have had privately; and while bad weather should have been planned for, the worst winter in decades could scarcely have been expected.

Many fine things are being said in Britain about the necessary flexibility of planning in a democratic society and its reliance upon the voluntary cooperation of the individual. The best method of utilizing planning in a country which has won most of its economic and social victories through the gift of improvization has apparently not yet been discovered.

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A realistic appraisal of an outmoded institution

Abolish the Jury System!

By Negley K. Teeters

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ONCE upon a time, the jury trial had meaning for the common man who had run afoul of the law or was suspected of such, but that day has long since passed. In fact, the longer the institution is tolerated and nurtured, the more meaningless and bizarre it is to those who understand its operation. Contrary to the general impression held by the traditional bystander or "man in the street," the jury trial is not a buttress of liberty or a bulwark against tyranny.

Now, an honest weighing of evidence by an intelligent jury of one's peers might, in pure theory, constitute an admirable way to arrive at truth and assure justice. But, in reality, the jury trial is no boon to the average citizen. On the contrary, the poor man haled before the bar of justice is likely to suffer, regardless of his innocence, unless he has a good attorney who knows how to sway the jury according to the rules of the legal game.

In addition, the existence of the jury system strikes at the safety of all decent citizens by providing an open door through which affluent public enemies, such as professional criminals, march to freedom with contemptuous cynicism for law and order. There can be no doubt that the longer we cling to the outmoded jury trial the less real objective justice we will see in the courtroom.

The trial jury is not so old as is generally believed. Venerable though it is, it made its appearance relatively late in human history. In its embryonic days, the jury had nothing to do with accusation or trial of suspected criminals. It was used merely as an administrative agency by the Frankish kings like Charlemagne. The king's representatives would summon a group of leading subjects in any given district and compel them under oath to reveal the taxable wealth of the residents of the region and the existence of offenses against the regal will. But, as early as the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, the jury was a going concern as a juristic rather than merely an administrative instrument.

Later, in 1215, when the trial-by-battle and the ordeal—medieval devices for ascertaining guilt—were abolished by Pope Innocent III, the rulers and lawyers of the day hit upon the jury as a substitute. The *grand jury,* which more specifically was the agency of accusation, predates the *petit* or *trial jury,* but reverence and tradition for both were woven into the fabric of jurisprudence long before what we now consider modern times. Thus, the

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right of a trial by jury became a fundamental right of the free man in the democratic state—something to be fought for, something for which every man should be willing to die, if need be.

There was a certain mysticism about the early jury which still remains. The number 12 was chosen because of its sanctity in religious law and practice. Both Jewish and Christian mysticism contributed to the selection of this number in arriving at decisions of guilt. The Holy Ghost was supposed to hover over 12 men under oath. There had been 12 tribes of Israel, 12 Patriarchs and 12 officers in Solomon's court. In the New Testament there had been 12 Apostles, now sitting on their 12 thrones in the New Jerusalem.

In spite of this mysticism, it is probably true that, compared to other instruments of the early modern era, the jury trial made a fairly respectable showing since there were few highly trained lawyers, and the composition of the jury was reasonably intelligent and cultured. But with the progress of sociology, medical knowledge, and jurisprudence, as well as of democracy, the jury trial has become woefully out of date in its cumbersome inefficiency and patent unfairness.

Though the determination of guilt in a criminal case is a highly technical matter, calling for the collaboration of a considerable number of experts in different lines, the method which a jury employs has from start to finish none of the earmarks of rationality. If one were to sit down and seriously attempt to create a more haphazard method of selecting persons to ascertain the guilt of a suspected criminal, he could think of no more stupid procedure than that in operation every day in every state in the Union. At best, juries are chosen by lot, each panel of veniremen being drawn at random from a collection of cards bearing the names of qualified citizens of a county. Such a panel can only at rare intervals be composed of a better than average group of persons. The more able and intelligent professional citizens are automatically excused from duty because of special laws in operation in various jurisdictions.

There are no universally accepted standards or criteria for jury duty. In some states those called are supposed to be "of ordinary intelligence"; in others, merely "well informed." In one state the potential juror must be able to read and write the English language; in another, he must be a taxpayer and, in addition, own real estate The following qualifications of a prospective juror are taken from the statutes of several states: must have qualifications of all electors; must pay taxes; must be a taxable person; must be on the assessment rolls; must *not* be a public official; must *not* be an employee of city, state or federal government; must not have previously served as juror within one year; must not be insane or an idiot; must not have been convicted of a felony in any court nor have been ever guilty of moral turpitude. In New York State the following may be exempted from

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jury duty: women, clergymen, physicians, surgeons, dentists, pharmacists, embalmers, optometrists, attorneys, members of the army, navy, marine corps, national guard, firemen, policemen, officers of vessels, licensed pilots. There may be good reason for these exemptions but it is obvious that the practice precludes the possibility of securing a jury of capable members in a reasonably short time.

In one state known to the writer, anyone making a contribution of 10 dollars to the local national guard unit is exempted from jury duty for one year. Many persons not excused by law and not relishing a long onerous ordeal in a law court find it expedient to make this nominal contribution annually. It has been stated that due to the exemption law of New York State, the great metropolis of New York City, with its many millions of inhabitants, can muster only 60,000 persons over 21 years of age for potential jury service in any one year.

EVASION

Few persons really enjoy the thought of jury duty. Hence, those who are not exempt from service by law can, if they are astute, evade the boring and monotonous service by adroitly answering the various questions submitted to them by the judge and opposing attorneys. Thus, they are queried as to whether they have read about and formed any opinion concerning the case to be tried. If they answer in the affirmative, it is quite likely they will be discharged forthright. In any important case in which ample publicity had been allocated to it by the press, it would be difficult for any prospective juror to state that he had not heard of it or, for that matter, formed an opinion in the case.

Thus we see that the selection of jurors is, in reality, a counter-selective process with the more intelligent citizens being systematically weeded out and the more ignorant retained. With this group to work upon, the attorneys representing the state and the defendant, resort to every trick of the legal trade to seat persons who will be as favorable as possible to their particular side of the case. This is enhanced by the liberal policy of challenging prospective jurors who might appear hostile to a particular side through prejudice, party affiliation, religious faith or social and political attitudes. The generous provisions for challenging without cause, and the practically unlimited right of challenging for cause, facilitate efforts to "load the dice" in the courtroom. Only an equal balancing of knowledge and wit on the part of the opposing counsel can thwart such provisions. The final 12 men and women sitting in the jury box are likely to be not only unintelligent but colorless as well.

There is little wonder at the tedious delay in selecting the trial jury in an especially notorious criminal case. It is not extreme to find two or three months exhausted before 12 jurors are chosen nor as many as five to six thousands of persons examined and excused before the task is completed. In Philadelphia some years ago one judge, after ex-

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hausting all those who had been impaneled for service, invoked an old law and ordered his attendants into the city streets to round up pedestrians for service. In the famous Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts, after five hundred talesmen had been called and only five jurors had been selected, Judge Thayer sent court deputies to round up more prospective victims; some were hauled out of bed in the middle of the night, others were accosted on the streets, and still others were pressed into service while attending a Masonic lodge meeting. In the trial of the notorious New York racketeer, Louis Buchalter, it took five weeks to select the jury.

BLUE RIBBON JURIES

Attempts to side-step this interminable delay and counter-selective procedure as here described have often led commissioners of juries to permit district attorneys to hand-pick their juries. These are known as *blue-ribbon* juries since they are drawn from persons who presumably possess more than average mentality and may be counted upon by the district-attorney to bring in a verdict that an outraged bystanding public will demand. Such jurors usually enjoy good standing in their communities and are usually lined up on the "right" side of public questions. They can usually be counted on to make short shrift of suspected sex offenders, kidnapers, persons with red or pink leanings and others whose alleged offenses violate the *status quo* in a glaring manner.

While these *silk-stocking* juries are legal and at the same time easily selected—which is not the case with ordinary impaneling, they have been referred to as decidedly un-American. For instance, in 1937 the Judicial Council of New York, a committee of presiding judges, recommended their abolition. In 1933 this same group, in a study made of the use of *blue-ribbon* juries, found that such groups convicted 83 per cent of the defendants tried before them on murder charges while ordinary juries trying similar cases during the same time convicted only 43 per cent of the defendants coming before them. It is not noted whether this fine showing was due to objective appraisal of the evidence or of prejudice inbred into many respectable people against those suspected of violating the law.

The ordinary jury behaves during the trial exactly as one would expect. After a day or two of distraction, excitement and bewilderment, the 12, eventually selected, settle down into a state of mental paralysis or coma which nullifies any semi-intelligent reaction they could possibly make to testimony of the nondescript witnesses paraded before them. Their minds tend to wander about in personal fantasies and worries and some even experience bitterness at being selected for duty. Awakened from time to time from their lethargy by the oratory of opposing attorneys or by sharp retorts from the judge, they suddenly pounce upon some irrelevant bit of testimony and a few moments later overlook completely some significant facts divulged by the key witnesses.

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Trained criminal lawyers and prosecutors thoroughly understand the vagaries of court-room procedure and are just as alert to the weaknesses of the jury system. Thus both play upon the colorless men and women before them, sometimes flattering, sometimes cajoling, and at still other times praising them for their astuteness. Contrary to popular opinion the criminal trial is not an instrument for arriving at justice. Rather it is a grim contest or game played between two more or less trained experts with the judge serving as referee. It was the late Dean J. H. Wigmore of Northwestern University who first referred to the trial procedure as exemplifying the "sporting theory of justice." Former Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard University describes the theory but sagely states that court trials ceased being shows around the year 1900.

Expert witnesses present serious complications to the average juryman who obviously cannot follow their testimony. Another problem of the juryman is the witness who perjures himself. Clever lawyers coach many of their witnesses to such a degree that the jury is in no position to differentiate between falsehood and truth.

The rules of the trial contest permit almost every form of oratory to play on the prejudices of the jurymen. They may be covertly threatened with mob reprisal if they do not render a satisfactory verdict to the intimidating attorney. Especially in the closing arguments of the opposing counsel is this rhetorical gaudiness employed.

Perhaps the most disillusioning item in connection with the modern jury trial is that neither district-attorney nor the counsel for the defense is vitally concerned with the real facts in the case. Both want to win. The prosecutor wants a conviction, frequently even if the defendant is innocent, while the counsel for the defense desires an acquittal, often regardless of his client's guilt. The political ambitions of the average prosecutor are usually well known so he cannot be blamed for trying to be a success in his office. The criminal lawyer knows that acquittals enhance his prestige as an expert and thus he can call for higher and still higher fees for his services.

It is the jury system, then, that invites the lavish use of money in hiring expensive counsel, skilled in obscuring facts and fabricating fictions. The principals in the game play upon the one or two jurymen who are obviously prejudiced in their respective directions, both realizing that one or two favorably inclined members of the jury can swing a verdict for their respective side.

Nor can the role played by the judge in this legal game be overlooked. It is his task to interpret the legal hocus-pocus that has developed throughout the centuries to the jury which naturally knows nothing of its significance. It is only necessary to point out here that the rules of legal evidence are usually the exact opposite of what they would be if we were actually seeking to ascertain the facts in the case. In a scientific laboratory an

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attempt is made to arrive at truth. In the court-room the rules of evidence, in the hands of skilled counsel, tend to obscure or exclude the facts rather than to admit and illuminate them. Yet a just and temperate jurist can do much, in spite of the court-room handicaps outlined above, to bring about some element of fairness and justice in a case. But he is likely to become institutionalized in the day by day monotony so that he may eventually succumb to the travesty that creeps in simply because of the conventionalized practices of the court trial.

DELIBERATIONS

Before suggesting the way out of this decadent procedure, let us look briefly at the deliberations in the jury room when the 12 talesmen are assembled following the trial. While these conferences are supposed to be secret, there are some data concerning what occurs in the sanctity of jury rooms. A commission in Pennsylvania, for example, found that some verdicts were arrived at by the mere flipping of a coin and in New Jersey it was reported that in a notorious criminal case the jurors knelt in prayer and found a unanimous verdict in favor of the defendant. The Pennsylvania commission, known as the Ruth Commission of 1938, found that the members of the juries interrogated knew little of their responsibility and that in many individual cases did not even know what went on. Here are a few examples:

Q. Was there any discussion before you took the first vote?
A. Well, naturally some arguments.
Q. What were some of the arguments that you had?
A. Well, of course, I didn't know what it was all about even.
Q. You didn't know what it was all about?
A. No, because I argue. What it was all about I don't know.

And again:

A. At first I felt she was guilty of involuntary manslaughter but I changed my mind.
Q. What was the basis on which you changed your mind?
A. I really don't know.
Q. You have no idea?
A. I have no idea.

And one more:

Q. What did you believe when you finally voted for acquittal?
A. Well, I went with the rest because they all said she would be punished more on the outside than on the inside. . . . I didn't get enough evidence on the case. . . . I just laid in bed. I had nothing to do with the members of the jury. . . .

Such examples of ignorance can be matched with others of pure caprice in arriving at verdicts. No sane and intelligent person would really agree that the jury as it is now operating in hundreds of criminal cases should be maintained. Fortunately, there is evidence that it is eliminating itself. Carping criticism such as is contained in this article is no longer necessary although periodically the uninformed —the bystander we hear so much about—should be apprized of the stupidities of court-room procedure including the trial jury.

In fully half of the states, the

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jury trial may be waived and this option is taken advantage of by thousands of defendants. It is obviously their belief that they stand a better chance of acquittal or a conviction on a lesser charge by being tried before a judge than by a conventional jury. While no one would for a moment suggest that any one of our priceless civil rights be placed in jeopardy, there seems to be practically no good reason why this institution, which in olden times may have had real meaning for the average citizen, be continued.

Where jury trials are waived the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages. It saves the state much expense; it reduces the number of appeals and retrials and it relieves much work in the district-attorney's office. The trend away from this anachronistic system of arriving at guilt is a healthy one since it may further precipitate the diagnostic clinical procedure which is likely to be the method of the future. Ascertaining guilt, in addition to sentencing convicted criminals, is a scientific procedure. Yet in this modern era, with our knowledge of psychiatry, sociology, psychology, together with the progress made in the field of detection and analysis of clues, the entire field of criminal prosecution, including the sentence, is little better than the epitome of pure caprice.

But if the trial jury is to be continued it should be seriously reformed. The American Law Institute in its *Code of Criminal Procedure* recommends a less than unanimous verdict except, perhaps, in capital cases.

Even more important is that laws of exempting citizens from jury duty should be repealed or seriously modified so that every person should be obliged to take his turn. Adequate compensation should be paid jurors instead of the niggardly pittance in effect today. Another reform, now in operation in many jurisdictions, is the selection of alternate jurors to be called to duty whenever a regular juror is incapacitated by illness during the progress of a trial.

All evil will not disappear with the abolition of the jury trial. Even now, when the jury trial is waived, the *trial by huddle*, a situation in which prosecutor, defense-attorney and the judge work out a compromise disposition of the case, is often substituted. This is even more reprehensible than a corrupt jury.

The jury, like all segments of court procedure, is a man-made device coming down from the hoary past. Like many folkways and mores, the situation which brought it into existence has long since passed but the device goes merrily on its way, albeit in a decrepit state. If it is to be continued it must be amended, constantly watched and challenged from time to time. The vested legal interests prefer to continue the jury. Many well-meaning intelligent students of the problem ask for its maintenance. But it has so little to recommend it, especially in these days of enlightened social science, that the quicker it disappears, the better for society.

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A portrait of Klement Gottwald

Prague's Red Premier

By Martin Ebon

THE men who formed the Executive Committee of the Communist International are today statesmen of world-wide standing. They are headed by Vyacheslaff M. Molotov, who ran Comintern affairs from 1928 to 1935, and who now bears the dignities and responsibilities of the Soviet Union in the Council of Foreign Ministers. Dmitri Z. Manuilski assisted Molotov in guiding the Comintern's destiny. Today he represents the Ukranian Soviet Socialist Republic among the United Nations. George Dimitrov, who succeeded Molotov as chief of the Communist International, became Premier of Bulgaria last November. And Klement Gottwald, who was Dimitrov's aide until the Comintern's official dissolution in 1934, has been Czechoslovak Premier since the early summer of 1946.

Gottwald was the first Comintern official to head the government of a Western nation with undisputed democratic traditions. He is certain to be followed into Premiership by one of several Romanian Communists, and later possibly by Maurice Thorez of France and Palmiro Togliatti of Italy. Klement Gottwald is the spearhead of a Europe-wide trend toward *de jure* as well as *de facto* governmental control by the men who in the past have made or implemented the world revolutionary policies of the Communist International. Gottwald's career led from the Moravian village of Dedice to apprenticeship as a carpenter, desertion in World War One, leadership of the Czech Communist Party, propaganda work for the Comintern during the Second World War, a year as Czechoslovak Deputy Premier, and finally to Premiership of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The one fact which makes this career truly remarkable, is the absence of any outstanding mental characteristics in Klement Gottwald. Here is a leader who lacks personal magnetism. Here is an agitator who fails to arouse his listeners. Here is a writer who has made a success of rehashing, repeating, stretching and warming up revolutionary platitudes. Horatio Alger has been vindicated by Klement Gottwald.

Gottwald's obedient mediocrity has made things difficult for Czechoslovak Communist propagandists. Unable to paint their chief as a seer, a martyr, or a revolutionary hero, they present him as the Prague equivalent of John Doe, alias Mr. Average Taxpayer. In this, they have been aided by the recent switch in over-all Commu-

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nist strategy, away from the Marx-Engels concept that "the worker has no fatherland." Instead, the new strategy exploits regional, nationalist sentiments. Among the more amusing antics of Communist press agentry stands the effort to present Gottwald as the home-grown statesman with the common touch, the barefoot boy from Dedice who made good. We are told, for instance, that Prague's Red Premier loves to eat plum dumplings. Now, there's nothing more earthy, more national, more Czech, more homey than plum dumplings. Gottwald's culinary preferences, we hear, prove that he is just another good Czech, a neighborly guy who wants to do the best for his country.

Thus, the man who has followed every conceivable flip-flop of the Comintern's strategy, has become a symbol of solidity and middle-class acceptability. Gottwald affects the slow, halting, deliberate speech which is characteristic of his guide and inspiration, Joseph Stalin. Czechoslovakia's Premier is not only a sometimes exasperatingly slow conversationalist, but his ways of dressing and walking tend to quiet the fears of solid Czechoslovak citizens. This plum-dumpling-eating, pipe-smoking, cap-wearing gentleman who celebrated his fiftieth birthday last November, is very unlike the caricaturist's conception of a professional revolutionary.

But Gottwald remains a follower of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism even in middle-class clothing. He himself denounced those who expected a basic change in Communist policies years ago, when he addressed the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935: "There are some people, and Comrade Dimitrov has aptly called them 'political hens,' who have got the idea that the Communists have allegedly given up their principles or are modifying them. These fanciful ideas can only give rise to laughter! The International whose leading party is building socialism on one-sixth of the globe, while the capitalist world is being immersed in hopeless chaos, in medieval barbarism — the International whose guiding principles have splendidly withstood the test of history, especially in the period when all the systems, theories and tactics hostile to it have gone finally bankrupt, the International has no need to alter its principles in the slightest degree."

Gottwald has followed many bewildering switches in the Communist party line. When he became Secretary General of the Czech Communist party in the late 1920's, the Comintern was firing away at the democratic Socialists. A few years later, it embarked on a policy of "unity" with the Social Democratic parties. Klement Gottwald supported both policies with equal vigor. In 1930, he told the delegates at the Fifth Congress of the Czech Communist Party: "The main arena of the battle for the masses lies between us and the social fascists." And "social fascists," it must be remembered, meant the democratic Socialists. On that occasion, Gottwald pledged that his party would "hit social fascism over the head."

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In spite of this militant talk, those were dark days in the history of the Czech Communists. After its foundation by the recalcitrant, right-wing Socialist Bohumil Smeral in 1921, the party reached its high point in 1924, when it registered 140,000 members. Gottwald emerged to leadership while Smeral was forced by Moscow to take a back-seat. When Gottwald took over, he had to deal with a completely demoralized following. Not only had some leading Communist functionaries helped themselves to party funds, but Prague's Communists had also been told by the Comintern that they were harboring a flock of "deviationists," "opportunists," and similar traitors to the cause. Consequently, the Fifth Congress heard Gottwald say:

"Our party has passed through a trying period. But now we face quick progress. Before us stand other great difficulties. But with the help of the Comintern, and under the guidance of the Comintern, standing close together in unity and with the firm conviction that we are chosen to save mankind, we shall proceed in accordance with the French revolutionary song, the *Carmagnole,* which says: 'We shall cut the capitalists' heads off!' "

Those "other great difficulties" arose from the quick switch toward "unity" with the Social Democrats. The Czech Communist paper *Rude Pravo* took the new 1935 directive at its face value and began to talk of the democratic Socialists in terms of genuine understanding. This was, of course, the wrong approach. The Comintern expelled *Rude Pravo's* editor, called him an "enemy of the working class" and gave Gottwald a reprimand. The future Czechoslovak Premier, who was later to form a coalition with all major parties, came to the fore with the slogan: "Down with collaboration with the bourgeoisie! Long live the united front, and militant collaboration between Socialists and Communists!" The word "social fascist" had disappeared from his vocabulary.

MINORITIES

Writing in *The Communist International* on January 20, 1935, Gottwald outlined his party's plans for the future of minority groups inside Czechoslovakia. He pointed with pride to the system prevailing in Russia. "Look at the Soviet Union!" he wrote. "There you see a live example of how the emancipation of the toiling nations, the path indicated by the Bolsheviks, leads not to the loss of national freedom by the nation which was formerly the ruling nation, but on the contrary, leads to the strengthening of its national liberty, and provides the final guarantee for freedom, thanks to its fraternal alliance with other nations. And the Soviet Union, as far as we are concerned, serves also as an example as to how the national problem should be settled in Czechoslovakia."

Gottwald specifically mentioned the Germans and Hungarians as among the "oppressed nations" in an "imperialist" Czechoslovakia. When Communist minority policies were finally translated into reality

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in 1945 and 1946, the Gottwald regime announced the deportation of close to 3,000,000 German-speaking citizens and some 800,000 people of Hungarian descent as essential to the peaceful future of Czechoslovakia. The "oppressed" had thus been placed on the road toward "emancipation of the toiling nations," as "indicated by the Bolsheviks."

There can be no doubt that Gottwald sees salvation for Czechoslovakia and the world in the Soviet Union alone. In January, 1938, he wrote in *The Communist International* that Russia "is a beacon lighting up the way to a happy future for the international working class and all toiling humanity, past all the horrors of capitalism and fascism." Two years later, after Czechoslovakia had been over-run by Nazi Germany, and Western Europe was at war with Hitler, the Moravian village boy had come to Moscow for a six-year stay.

EARLY LIFE

Klement Gottwald's arrival in the Soviet capital, shortly after the Munich Pact, lifted him from obscurity to the international scene. This was the half-way mark of his career. He had been born at Dedice on November 23, 1896. His father, a small farmer, lived in a region where Czech and German influence met. The elder Gottwald wanted his son to learn a skilled trade. He sent young Klement to Vienna when he was 12 years old.

In Vienna, fermenting capital of an overgrown and dying empire, Klement Gottwald became a carpenter's apprentice. Four years later, he entered the Social Democratic Youth Movement, which combined political with sports activities. When Austria-Hungary joined the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm II in the First World War, Gottwald was drafted into the Imperial Army at the age of 21. The rugged peasant boy with the square face and solidly built body advanced quickly. He became a sergeant of the Imperial Artillery and commanded a unit at the Southern Russian Front. He was wounded. After he recovered, he fought in the Bessarabian and Italian campaigns. While on home leave from the Italian front, he hid and did not return to his unit. Gottwald had deserted a crumbling cause.

He was cautious in adopting other causes. After the end of the war, he did not immediately join Smeral's Communists. When he finally did so, it was through the Youth Movement, rather than through the ranks of the regular party. Using his Vienna experience, he helped create the new Communist sports organization, the *Spartacus,* which drilled its members as if they were shock troops. In late 1921, Gottwald went to Slovakia where the Communists were slowly taking hold. The ex-carpenter became a journalist. He edited two party papers in Bratislava. The first was *Hlas Lodu* (People's Voice), the second *Pravda* (Truth).

In 1925, he moved from Bratislava to Prague as a member of the new Moscow-selected Communist Central Committee. Smeral's position had become shaky. Gottwald's

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star was rising. His *Spartacus* grew more and more militant. One of the turning points in the history of Czechoslovakia's Communists was the "Red Day" of 1928. Moscow had ordered the *Spartacus* to hold a mammoth festival, right in the center of Prague. It was to be a demonstration of strength, in defiance of a government ban.

But the show was a dismal flop. The vast majority of rank-and-file Communists refused to become targets for the Prague police. Less than five thousand persons assembled in the capital. No demonstration took place. Moscow was furious. Smeral was called on the carpet in the Soviet capital. It was the end of his career. Other leading Communists resented Moscow's high-handed methods and ignorance of local conditions. They talked back and were promptly expelled from the party.

Only Klement Gottwald did not talk back. He continued to talk a straight Comintern line. As the Czech party's unchallenged Secretary-General, he plodded along, carefully, uninspired, reliable. He ran the Party during the late 1920's and early 1930's against heavy odds. In 1929, party membership was down to 80,000. Ten years later, just before Nazi troops crossed the Czechoslovak frontier, membership figures hit bottom at 70,000.

During the war years he spent in Moscow, Gottwald prepared Czechoslovakia's future. Victory of the Allies would strengthen Russian influence in Central and South Eastern Europe. The Comintern was planning for this day. Official dissolution of the Communist International did not in any way interrupt these preparations. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union had always played a decisive role in the affairs of world communism. With the Comintern gone, the various parties would merely have to look directly to the Central Committee of the Russian party for instructions. Gottwald broadcast to Czechoslovakia over the Moscow Radio, mixing underground instructions with political indoctrination. He also wrote for Czechoslovak-language publications appearing in the Soviet Union. But his most important task was the preparation of a program for a postwar Czechoslovakia.

POST-WAR PLAN

During President Eduard Benes' 1943 visit to Moscow, Gottwald told him about the Russian-approved plans which his party had drawn up. Benes, it is said, was interested but noncommittal. But his reluctance melted a year later, when Soviet troops entered Eastern Czechoslovakia. It became clear that the Czechoslovakia Government-in-exile would return home by Russian consent, or it would not return at all. Benes and his cabinet members took a plane from London to Moscow. They spent 10 days in secret negotiations. The Gottwald proposals were again discussed, this time in detail. With the Red Army already on Czechoslovak soil, it surprised no one that the Gottwald plan became the basis on the newly-formed "Government of National Front." Gottwald ad-

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vanced another step: he became Deputy Premier.

Gottwald's program, released by the government at Kosice, expressed the "great gratitude of the Czechoslovak nation to the U.S.S.R." and pledged that "the Government will unwaveringly maintain as the leading line of Czechoslovak policy, the closest alliance with the victorious Slav power of the East." The program added: "The Government will, from the beginning, safeguard practical collaboration with the U.S.S.R., military, political, economic and cultural. . . . In questions regarding the punishment of Germany, of setting new frontiers, or the organization of future peace, Czechoslovakia shall stand, as closely as possible, at the side of the U.S.S.R. . . ."

When, in June, 1946, Gottwald addressed the Prague Parliament for the first time as newly-elected Premier, he re-emphasized Czechoslovakia's close collaboration with the Soviet Union in the field of international affairs. Shortly afterward, he presented his party's Two-Year-Plan for the political-economic reorganization of the nation. In this ambitious plan, Gottwald is aided by the fact that his party runs the Ministry of Interior. Throughout Europe, Communist parties have endeavored to gain control of the Interior ministries, which administer police action. While the Interior Ministry assures political control, the local Communist-dominated *Narodni Vybor,* or People's Committees, exert both economic and political pressure.

Gottwald today faces problems of economic readjustment. Managerial personnel is lacking, and the deportation of Germans has brought the loss of much skilled personnel. To the cause of the Two-Year-Plan, Czechoslovak workers have, in effect, lost the right to strike. Gottwald is aided in his control of the workers by the Revolutionary Workers Movement (*U.R.O.*), a nation-wide trade union organization under the leadership of the Communist functionary Antonin A. Zapotócky. During a Prague meeting of *U.R.O.* delegates, Zapotócky did not mince words. There would be no strikes, he said, because "Czechoslovak workers have been strong enough to avoid strikes and other work stoppage activities" by constructing a "cooperative machinery together with management, which has achieved magnificent results within a very short period of time." Conscious of impatient rumblings within the sprawling Communist-created super-union, Zapotócky told the *U.R.O.* delegates that there had been too much interference from the workers. "Management," he said emphatically, "must be permitted to manage." And as far as wages were concerned, there was "a limit as to how high they can go."

Czechoslovakia is the Kremlin's showcase in Central Europe. Democratic liberties have been maintained to a very high degree. Gottwald must be credited with careful and relatively tactful penetration of the state machinery. As he plods along, his very mediocrity has become an asset. His peasant shrewd-

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ness is better adapted to quiet maneuvering than to brilliant revolutionary action. In conversations and negotiations, Klement Gottwald gives the appearance of solidity. He seems reliable and trustworthy. Such appearances are valuable in a Communist leader, who has to overcome the democratic traditions of his homeland. Some 10 years ago he warned workers among the national minorities not to fall for "illusions regarding Czechoslovakian democracy." Today, "Czechoslovakian democracy" is one of the concepts to which he allegedly subscribes.

The new tactics of this middle-aged revolutionary have paid off. With only 70,000 members before the war, Gottwald was able to tell the 1946 conference of his party that it had gained more than one million adherents. The elections of May 26, 1946, gave his party a total of 2,702,452 votes (2,217,711 for the Czech Communists; 484,741 for the Slovak Communists). True, this did not provide the Communists with an out-and-out majority, but it made them their nation's largest party, and it gave Gottwald the chance to apply irresistible political pressure on the reluctant President Benes.

Half a century old, Klement Gottwald has reached the top. He made peace with his *petit-bourgeois*-peasant soul some 25 years ago. Of Europe's Communist leaders, he seems to fit least into the story book pattern of the Red Rebel. Here is no wild-eyed, brilliant, passion-rousing revolutionary. Here is just a heavy-set man with a steady gait and the general appearance of a high school superintendent. That is what makes it so easy to mistake Gottwald for just another Czechoslovak patriot, who merely happens to carry a Communist membership card in his pocket.

There is no evidence in Gottwald's career that, at any particular juncture, he consciously decided to seek sanctuary, or power, or a mission within the Communist movement. Doubtless, the 16-year-old Klement who joined the Socialists in Vienna was inspired by all the sincerity and impatience of adolescence. And then he kept just on going. As the brilliant, idealistic and hot-headed Czech Communists fell by the wayside, Klement Gottwald grew more cautious. His speeches and articles were hardly original creations any longer. They seemed to be nothing but flabby vernacular gummed to a skeleton of quotations from Stalin and Dimitrov. Gottwald even shied away from citing Lenin, unless Stalin had used some Lenin phrases just previously. It was best to be safe.

Quite properly, then, what made Gottwald finally one of the top leaders of world communism, was his very lack of leadership qualities. He did not originate policy, nor has he ever manned a barricade. Sitting in his office at Prague today, Gottwald may well suck on his long-stemmed pipe and view his own career as proof that it pays to be mediocre.

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We must sell
ourselves to the world

Speak For Yourself, America

By Marjorie Foulkrod

THE House Appropriations Committee, in ruling out the funds providing for the Information and Cultural Affairs program of the State Department, made a penny-wise move that might have been tragically pound foolish. In striking the $31,381,220 item off the budget, the Committee almost terminated all attempts of a misrepresented, distrusted and envied nation to explain itself to the world.

The United States is a babe in the woods when it comes to understanding the importance of skilled propaganda methods and the dissemination of information. We are inclined to believe that deeds alone are golden and speak for themselves, that generosity is always understood, that good intentions are never misconstrued. "Propaganda" *per se* is suspect. To many, the word connotes sinister mass delusion, a weapon to be used only in wartime emergency. This is a curious concept for a nation that thrives on advertising, and spends tremendous sums on "getting the product before the public."

In reporting out the O.I.C. section of the bill, the House Appropriations Committee said:

"Our forbears planted on this soil the seed of liberty and freedom which, if properly nurtured, should outgrow our boundaries and reach out into the rest of the world, not through a centralized disseminating agency, but through the force of its own dynamics."

On August 31, 1945, the information and cultural program was transferred by presidential directive from the Office of War Information, the Office of Inter-American Affairs and the Interim International Information Service to the State Department.

The Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, William Benton, explained the program's policy before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in October, 1945.

> The Government's role here is facilitative and supplementary. Its first job is to be helpful to the private agencies engaged in international exchange of information, skill or art, and to the tens of thousands of private individuals going abroad who act as cultural ambassadors. The second job of Government—the supplementary job—is to help present a truer picture of American life and American policy in those areas important to our policy where private interchange is inadequate, or where misunderstandings and misapprehensions exist about the United States and its policies.
>
> . . . It is chiefly the absence of fundamental knowledge of us which imperils us rather than

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specific distortions. The widely accepted myths about America are based on inadequate knowledge of the facts about American history, American institutions and our way of life. They can be dissolved only gradually, by patient effort on our part, not to persuade but to keep the facts in full view abroad.

The O.I.C. services 70 libraries attached to United States embassies and United States consulates in 41 countries throughout the world. These libraries make books—nonfiction, fiction, general and specialized—periodicals, documents, recordings and art reproductions available to foreign officials, leaders in all fields, students and organizations interested in learning about the United States. The institutional program helps 400 American-affiliated schools abroad with educational materials and grants-in-aid so that the institutions will mirror the best educational methods in the United States.

In recent years the United States has encouraged the exchange of students, trainees, professors, specialists, community and professional leaders between this country and foreign nations. The O.I.C. facilitates these exchanges: it sponsors or cooperates in the planning and execution of many such projects which do not involve government funds. In its supplementary role, the O.I.C. awards grants to specialists for research, training, lecturing, surveying and consulting in all fields; it administers a graduate student fellowship plan and a program of assistance to trainees in industry.

Daily the O.I.C. prepares a wireless bulletin to provide official government information for publication in foreign countries and to inform the United States diplomatic personnel abroad of developments at home and in the world.

In addition, it operates a mail service of textual, documentary and background material as well as photos and film-strips on American life for 160 diplomatic missions abroad. The material is distributed to magazines and newspapers for publication or for the information of researchists, writers, radio commentators or the general public as requested.

Among its operations are many tasks which a private agency or a private industry has no incentive to undertake. For example, over 50,000 copies of *Amerika,* an attractive illustrated monthly printed in Russian, are distributed in the Soviet Union each month.

The O.I.C. acquires, edits and adapts documentary and informational motion pictures depicting life in the United States and contracts for production of desired subjects. The majority of these films are made by various industrial and commercial concerns, national organizations and other government departments: United States Steel Corporation, certain railroads, Westinghouse Electric, Greyhound Lines, the National Tuberculosis Association, the Department of Agriculture. The films are sent to United States diplomatic missions abroad.

Factual information about the

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United States passes uncensored over national barriers by the international broadcasting arm of the O.I.C. The Voice of America is beamed to Europe for over 28 program-hours daily; to Latin America, over 18 hours per day; to the Far East, 9 hours; and to Russia one hour daily. Broadcasts in 25 different languages include straight news; news commentaries; special events such as speeches, interviews, and on-the-spot broadcasts (United Nations activities); round table discussions; board of experts and master of ceremonies programs; request programs; special features; music and dramatic programs. About half of the programming is done by the large broadcasting corporations under contract, thus eliminating the expense of separate program planning.

HOUSE HEARINGS

At the outset of the House subcommittee hearings on the Department of State appropriations for the fiscal year, 1948, it became apparent that the information and cultural affairs program was on the griddle.

In Secretary of State Marshall's introductory address to the hearing committee, he outlined the work of the State Department and of our foreign policy as advocating measures to remove the conditions that lead to war and encouraging those conditions which will lead to the development of a free and democratic way of life for the peoples of the world in accordance with their customs and desires.

He continued with the statement, "One effective way to promote peace is to dispel misunderstanding, fear, and ignorance. Foreign peoples should know the nature and objectives of our foreign policy. They should have a true understanding of American life. This is the purpose of the information and cultural relations program."

On March 20, Assistant Secretary of State Benton presented his explanatory statement to the subcommittee of seven Congressmen under the chairmanship of Representative Karl Stefan of Nebraska.

". . . To put it bluntly, in order to play a leading and successful role in the world, the United States needs friends and supporters, and to have friends the United States needs to be understood; its policies and the background that gives rise to these policies need to be fully known to the peoples of the world. . . .

"Can we expect other countries to follow our lead in world affairs if they do not know enough about our objectives and our way of life to have confidence in our leadership?"

Mr. Benton pointed out that the information and cultural affairs program is an "instrument to step up the effectiveness of, and response to, United States foreign policy."

> It became clear during the year that the people of the Soviet Union were not receiving a full or fair account of the peace negotiations, and especially of this country's views, position and objectives. This gave the Soviet Government, in the assertion of its policy in international councils, a strength that was wholly unwarranted. We therefore took steps to initi-

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ate short-wave broadcasting from the United States to the U.S.S.R.

. . . The countries on the periphery of the Soviet Union were of vital importance in international relations during the year, and continually in the news. In many of those countries the Soviet Union news agency, *Tass*, has the inside track, and other outside news services are denied the privilege of operation.

In these areas our information service worked overtime to make known as widely as possible the facts at issue in international relations, as well as the American viewpoint and American objectives.

. . . The situation in the Middle East was equally dangerous, and even more complicated, involving not only uncertain relationship between the major powers, but explosive Arab and Jewish nationalism as well. In these areas the information facilities of the Russians and British are enormous, and it is always an uphill job to get the American version of the facts properly presented, but we did our best with limited facilities.

. . . As for China, Secretary Marshall has borne eloquent public testimony to the misinformation spread by contending extremists in China—misinformation about the acts and aims of the American Government.

. . . It would be an enormous mistake to assume that there exists in these countries (Great Britain, Western Europe, the British Dominion and Latin America) a knowledge of and sympathy with United States adequate to the complex demands of today's international relations.

Mr. Benton continued, "It would be difficult to emphasize the hunger for information about America that exists in foreign countries." Private facilities for news dissemination are completely inadequate; large sections of the people have been virtually cut off from all direct sources of news for more than eight years because of government censorship, war and unsettled conditions.

> According to reports from the field, in one month 17,000 French people used our library in Paris; 4,000 came to our library in Sydney; and 10,000 in Bombay. When the American library opened in Sofia, more than 2,000 readers came in the first two weeks. "There was hardly standing room from 5 to 7 P.M.," said the report, "and popular American magazines were almost torn to bits."
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> . . . According to reports, each copy (of *Amerika*, the Russian language magazine circulated in the Soviet Union alone), is read by some 50 to 100 persons.
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> . . . Reports from China indicate that an average audience in western China for one of our documentary film showings is from five to 10 thousand, and that on holidays a crowd of 30,000 is not unusual. It is reported from Rumania that some 127 showings last July and August reached audiences totaling 43,375.
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> From Brazil it was reported that 6,121 showings of our documentary films during July and August reached 2,721,049 persons.

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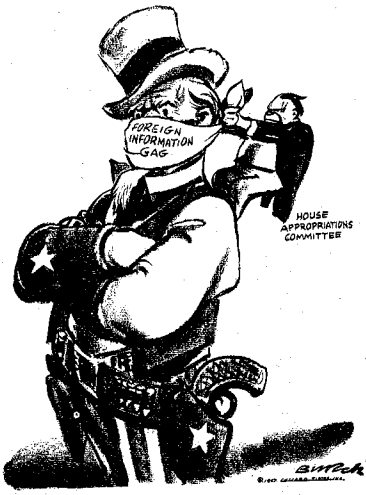
. . . It is estimated that there are 20,000,000 radio sets in existence outside the United States capable of receiving short wave signals. Of these some 80,000 are believed to be in Argentina; 100,000 in Yugoslavia and half a million — privately owned—in the Soviet Union.

The size of the listening audience to the Voice of America is indicated somewhat by our fan mail. During 1946 we received over 60,000 letters from listeners all over the world. Approximately 65 per cent of these came from Europe, 25 per cent from Latin America and 10 per cent from the Far East.

Foreign students who come to the United States for study during their formative years almost always become our fast friends. . . . Likewise American students abroad acquire a knowledge of conditions in foreign countries that is indispensable in the conduct of the complicated international affairs of today.

Last year 315 students and 50 professors and technicians were given supplementary financial help in the form of travel or subsistence grants to come to the United States from the countries of Latin America; eight American students and 70 American professors received financial assistance to enable them to visit our neighbors to the south.

Throughout the questioning of Mr. Benton, the subcommittee was eager to discover why private agencies could not do the same job of sending news to foreign countries. Mr. Benton countered with these surprising facts:



Burck in the *Chicago Times*

"THE STRONG, SILENT TYPE"

Because of government monopolies in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia, news dispatches cannot be disseminated by private United States agencies.

In the following countries or dependencies, the United States news services are not disseminating news directly to the customers because they find the customers refuse to pay either through lack of interest, financial weakness, inability to get foreign exchange, or prohibitive cable tolls: Algeria, Belgium Congo, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Malaya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Siam, Transjordan and Yeman.

In Afghanistan and Iran, *Reuters* reportedly serves for a nominal fee and *Tass* reportedly serves free.

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Australia uses its own Australian Associated Press but purchases Associated Press service and distributes a selected file. In French Indo-China, the official French radio monitors foreign news broadcasts. In Indonesia, the Aneta news agency takes selected United Press items. In the Union of South Africa, the South African Press Association purchases only a few thousand words daily of the United Press dispatches. Thus widespread news dissemination and real freedom of communication exists to a much smaller degree than is popularly believed.

"What do you think other countries, such as Great Britain and Russia, would do if we discontinued your service?" asked Mr. Stefan.

". . . Surely, in the case of the Russians, every indication is that the incentive would be to step up their program rather than the reverse. The truth is, Mr. Chairman, that the scope of our activities is so tiny on a world scale today, so small and so inadequate, that its impact in determining the information policies of other countries is infinitesimal," Mr. Benton replied.

Mr. Stefan felt that the committee's position and the need for economy in government should be pointed out.

> This Government, this business, this corporation of which we are all stockholders, is broke. We owe close to $260,000,000,000. We are paying an interest load of $5,000,000,000 every year. . . . The Government has no place else to get the money except from the taxpayers.
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> . . . All of the requests that are being submitted by the various agencies of the Government are higher than their appropriations were at the peak of the war, during 1944. And when we view these huge increases that are requested, we view them with great alarm and we sometimes wonder why we are not getting more assistance from the executive branch of the Government in meeting this demand for economy, of why we are not getting more information so that we can do a good job and a fair job for the Government agencies and for the taxpayer.

COST

In the interests of the taxpayer, Mr. Stefan presented a report on an informal survey showing the laxity in time-keeping in the O.I.C.'s section of the State Department offices. He pointed out that at 4 P.M. one afternoon four offices on the second floor were open; papers were spread out on the desks; file drawers were open; no personnel were present, but 11 persons were passed on the stairs between the first and fifth floors with snack bar purchases.

Mr. Stefan then asked Mr. Benton to comment on three matters on the report: high salaries, high-sounding titles and the reason for employing so many aliens.

The office budget revealed that 568 of the employees receive salaries of less than $4,000 per annum and 559 receive over $4,000 per year. The committee estimated that several employees of the office received very large incomes: $18,600, $17,860, when salary and allowances are included.

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Although the number of alien employees has been cut down at government request, Mr. Benton pointed out that the reason for the large number employed was chiefly an economy on the part of the State Department. Aliens are cheaper; they are often more efficient, know more about the language and the country in which they are working.

High salaries are paid to technical experts, librarians, people with a good deal of training in writing and broadcasting. Good writers and good broadcasters, well-trained, competent people, have tremendous opportunities open to them in private industry. Mr. Benton stated, "a very high percentage of our people—and I will say it is to their credit and to their patriotism . . . —could leave their O.I.C. jobs today and improve themselves financially considerably by so doing. That is not true of Government as a whole."

In addition to investigating the costs of the program, the subcommittee wanted to find out whether the material distributed to foreign countries was truly representative of the United States. The following is quoted directly from the hearing on books for libraries abroad.

> Mr. Stefan. Who selects these books?
>
> Mr. Benton. They are selected by librarians, expert librarians, employed by the Department, in consultation with outside groups, such as the American Library Association.
>
> Mr. Stefan. This report says that these books are chosen by a selection committee composed of five ladies in the Documentation Service.
>
> Mr. Benton. They are trained librarians.
>
> Mr. Stefan. . . . Do you approve the books that are sent?
>
> Mr. Benton. Personally, no, because I am not competent to begin with. But if I were competent, the needs vary too much from country to country and area to area.
>
> Mr. Stefan. I hand you this book and ask you, do you approve that book going into all the libraries of the world? Have you ever seen it?
>
> Mr. Benton. No.
>
> Mr. Stefan. If Mrs. Logsden will leave the room, I will read a paragraph of it.
>
> Mr. Benton. No; I do not know this book.
>
> Mr. Kurth. I have read the book.
>
> Mr. Stefan. Do you approve that book?
>
> Mr. Benton. Why did you read it?
>
> Mr. Stefan. I did not read it. We are informed there were 24 copies of this book supplied to the 24 cultural centers in the American Republics. If this is representative of the kind of books you are selecting—and I am not going to state the title of the book for the record, because if I gave the title of the book, I suppose everybody would want to read it.
>
> Mr. Benton. You are quite right.
>
> Mr. Kurth. Thousands of Americans have read the book.
>
> Mr. Stefan. The secretary has handed me this book and I

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have been asked to read one sentence, which I did, and it was enough for me.

Mr. Benton. This will illustrate how I do not read all these books. I cannot read all these books.

Mr. Stefan. Just read that and see what you think about it. There are other books being circulated, perhaps not as bad as this book, that have been called to my attention but which I have not read.

Mr. Benton. As to this particular book, Mr. Chairman, I agree that it was not necessary to send it abroad in order adequately to give a full and fair picture of American life.

In the afternoon session—

Mr. Holland. With reference to the book you mentioned this morning, this is the situation: On the basis of reviews which appeared in *The New York Times*, *Times* magazine, *The New York Herald Tribune*, and other such publications, an order was placed for 24 copies of that book, but the normal procedure is for books to be reviewed by our staff members before they are purchased and actually shipped.

This book was read by the director of the division, Mr. Heindel, who thought that it definitely was not appropriate to go to the field, and he countermanded the order, so that not a cent of Government money was spent on that book and not a copy has gone to any of our libraries.

Mr. Stefan. I am very glad to hear that.

Mr. Benton. I am more relieved than you are, Mr. Chairman.

No other program of the O.I.C. has come up for so much public attention and congressional criticism as the modern art exhibit. The paintings were selected by one man in the Department and purchased for exhibition abroad. As a result of the criticism, the exhibit was halted in mid course and the selection methods reviewed.

Mr. Stefan. Mr. Benton, what is this (exhibiting document)?

Mr. Benton. There are a great many pictures—

Mr. Stefan. What is this picture?

Mr. Benton. I can't tell you.

Mr. Stefan. I am putting it just about a foot from your eyes. Do you know what it is?

Mr. Benton. I won't even hazard a guess of what that picture is, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Stefan. How much did you pay for it? You paid $700 for it and you can't identify it.

Do you know what this picture is, Mr. Secretary (exhibiting document)?

Mr. Benton. I would hesitate to pass judgment on any of these pictures, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Stefan. Do you know what this is (exhibiting document)?

Mr. Horan. Are you holding it up straight?

Mr. Stefan. It is straight. Do you know what that is?

Mr. Benton. It does have a resemblance to many things that are not fit to mention before this committee.

Mr. Stefan. What would you say that was?

Mr. Benton. You are closer to it than I am, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Stefan. Now you are closer to it than I am.

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Mr. Benton. I would hesitate to pass opinion on it. I guess—

Mr. Stefan. Would you say that is a seascape or mountainside?

Mr. Benton. I would hesitate to pass oninion on it. I am afraid the artist wouldn't like it.

Mr. Stefan. What is that?

Mr. Benton. I think you might ask Mr. Horan. That looks like some of his western country. He might have some judgment on it.

Mr. Stefan. What kind of country?

Mr. Benton. It looks like a good country to leave behind you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Stefan. That (exhibiting) looks like a canyon in the night. I do not know whether I am holding this up right or not.

Mr. Benton. You are showing me the same one.

Mr. Stefan. No.

Mr. Benton. It looks like the moon.

Mr. Stefan. That isn't the same picture.

Mr. Benton. It looks like the first one.

Mr. Stefan. Certainly. You can't tell the difference, can you?

Mr. Benton. No. It looks very similar.

Mr. Stefan. Look at that (exhibiting)! What is that?

Mr. Benton. Showing me these pictures of course illustrates the problem—

. . . Mr. Benton. Mr. Chairman, I have sponsored art collections myself.

Mr. Stefan. Aren't you horrified yourself?

Mr. Benton. I would not use the word horrified.

Mr. Stefan. Well, you are shocked, aren't you?

Mr. Benton. No; I wouldn't say I was shocked.

Mr. Stefan. Well, what would you say?

Mr. Benton. I would say "Art."

. . . I do not think this collection has been properly handled, but I think the theory is absolutely sound.

The theory underlying the purchase of the art is that Americans are accused throughout the world of being a materialistic, money-mad race, without interest in art and without appreciation of artists or music. The men in our cultural institutes throughout the world, in their desire to show that we have a side to our personality as a race other than materialism, and other than science and technology, write the Department from the the field wanting examples of American art.

Now, of course, many think that modern art, so-called, is a better illustration of our current artistic interests in this country than the more orthodox or traditional forms of art. Here you have the first reason underlying the theory behind this program.

Another reason is that in our institutes through Latin America we need things to bring people in, to attract them and induce them to come in to visit us, at our cultural centers. One very good way to bring people in is to have art exhibits or music that many will want to come to see and hear. When you get the people in there, . . ,

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attracted through techniques of this kind, you hope to create an environment in which the visitors will want to read books about the United States, study English, listen to talks about the United States, and so forth.

As a warning of possible developments, Mr. Horan asked Mr. Benton, "What would you do if this committee didn't allow any of those funds?"

Well, I would go home feeling that I had done the best that I could and failed, but this Government would also not have settled this issue for very long by such a decision at this time. I would think it was particularly tragic, in this area much more than in many other areas where money can be saved, not only because of the importance of this kind of work, but because if this radio structure, as an example, is once abolished and annihilated I think it will take another war to put it together again. This isn't the kind of thing that you can put out of business this year and then readily recreate when a new Congress two years from now comes in and says, "Well, I think we will start this all over again; the old Congress made a mistake."

Mr. Horan. "Is cultural relations with other countries a brand new idea?"

Mr. Benton. "For this country, commanding the interests of our National Government, it's a brand new idea, relatively speaking; but it is a very, very old book and an extremely old story for other countries who are literate in this field, whereas, I may say that we are not grown up in it. We still have a lot to learn."

The House Appropriations Committee struck the item off the budget. It was pointed out that the program was not specifically authorized by law. Representative Horan of Washington raised a point of order against the program on this theory and it was deleted from the funds of the State Department.

The State Department Appropriation was passed May 16 and the entire information and cultural affairs program appeared to be doomed to death by the end of June.

However, in the early days of May, Representative Karl Mundt of South Dakota introduced a bill which would give the program specific authorization and which incorporated numerous provisions designed to meet the House Appropriations Committee's objections.

Hearings were held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee and as a result of the "ardent support" of General Eisenhower, Secretary Marshall, and Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, the House Foreign Affairs Committee unanimously approved the legislation. At the present writing, the bill has still a tortuous journey to travel through the House, with the Appropriations Committee sanction, and finally to the Senate. If it makes the trip successfully, an Office of Information and Education Exchange will be set up to continue the work under the State Department; a substantial victory will be won for a full and fair presentation of America to the world.

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The House debates the Greek-Turkish aid bill

What Course Should Our Foreign Policy Take?

ON MARCH 5, 1947, the British government informed the American State Department that Great Britain would not be able to continue the military and financial aid that she had been giving to Greece and Turkey after March 31, 1947. On March 12, President Truman asked that Congress pass a bill appropriating $400,000,000 for aid to the two states and authorizing him to give technical and military aid to both nations.

The speech which he made in support of his request was in effect a request for a change in the diplomatic policy of the United States. He declared: "We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

"This is a serious course upon which we embark, I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious."

Both the Senate and the House recognized the gravity of the situation. The debate in both branches of Congress was intelligent and well informed. It proved impossible to come to an agreement by March 31 as the British and the President both requested.

Both the House and the Senate eventually passed the bill and the President signed it on May 22. All the debate[1] reprinted below took place in the House. The opponents of the bill were moved by different interests. Some liked Russia. More disliked Britain and the Empire. Many feared the policy would eventually be extremely expensive and lead to war rather than prevent it.

The bill's advocates considered it the lesser of two evils. Either we must, in their eyes, halt Russia now or halt her later under, perhaps, less favorable circumstances.

1 *The Congressional Record, House of Representatives*, Vol. 93, No. 85, pp. 4734-4736; No. 88, p. 5015.

THE REPRESENTATIVES SPEAK

Mr. Brown (R., Ohio): Never in my experience have I encountered a legislative measure concerning which so many people know so little. We have been told that this is a bill to feed the hungry and to

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clothe the destitute in Greece and Turkey; and to provide for the rehabilitation of those countries. We are also told that this is a bill for military purposes — to stop the spread of communism and the march of the aggressor.

There is no doubt of the need for food and clothing, medicine and housing, reconstruction and rehabilitation in war-torn, tragic Greece. But no such situation exists in Turkey, where food and clothing are abundant, and the people have grown fat on the profits of war. There is no suffering, no destitution, no wreckage of war in Turkey — for Turkey was neutral in World War II. So, while there may be need for additional funds to help Greece —funds greater than those already being furnished under our general European relief program—surely the only purpose behind the Turkish loan is a military one.

No one in this House knows how much the new foreign policy we are embarking upon will cost, or when that cost will end. No one knows how many other countries will demand aid of us to stop the spread of communism; or to drive back the aggressor. No one knows whether the enactment of H. R. 2616 will result in war or in peace. No one knows whether this is the best way or the worst way to accomplish our desired purpose of bringing peace, liberty, and freedom to the peoples of the world. Little or no real information has been given us by those who favor this bill.

So in the belief this is one of the most far reaching and important measures ever to come before the Congress—for it establishes a new American foreign policy from which we cannot easily turn aside—I opposed the granting of the rule until we could first hear from Secretary of State Marshall and ask for answers to many of the questions which are now giving us such grave concern.

I do not know where this legislative step—if we take it—will lead. I do not believe anyone knows. I do not know how long we will have to continue furnishing aid to Greece and Turkey to stop the spread of communism in those lands, or if we start, what the full cost will be. I do not know what other peoples or countries will be appealing to us for money, munitions, and men with which to combat the spread of communism. I do not know whether this is the road to peace or to war.

However, there are some things I do know. I know that 30 years ago we entered a great war—the World War we called it then—to save democracy by destroying kaiserism, and that we expended billions of dollars and many thousands of lives in that cause. We helped to win that war, but with the victory came disillusionment, and less democracy and freedom than prevailed before the struggle began.

I do know that of the tortured and decaying remains of a war-torn Europe there arose an even greater autocracy than that which prevailed under the kaisers and the czars. Fascism, nazism, and communism spread their cancerous growths across the continent and into the far reaches of Asia. As the strength of these political ideologies grew, human liberty lessened and disappeared. The sound of military boots was heard everywhere. Force, violence, and a total disregard for the rights or dignity of man became the order of the day. Then suddenly the growing monsters reached out to take the land, the

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property, and the lives of weaker peoples. Italy seized Ethiopia and Albania. Russia wrested territory from little Finland, from Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. Germany marched into Czechoslovakia and Austria, and divided Poland with Russia. Later came the invasions of Norway, France, Belgium, and Holland, and of the Balkans, and Greece. Once more the cry came for America to save democracy. First we extended credit and loaned our money. Then we sent our guns and ships—and last our men.

Finally the eagles of victory perched upon our war banners. Hitlerism was destroyed. Treacherous Japan was defeated. We had fought and won two conflicts on opposite sides of the earth—two great victories at the cost of more than 300,000 dead, 700,000 wounded, and nearly five hundred billions of dollars.

Once again we had saved the world for democracy. The Four Freedoms would live, we were told. Yet even before the victories were won in what we know as World War II, the seeds of a third great world struggle were being sown—planted at Cairo, Tehran, and Yalta—yes, even at Potsdam.

QUESTIONS

Now it is communism we must fight. We find it here at home, as well as in almost every other part of the globe. Now we are being told once more that we can save the world with our money, with our food, with our tools—all short of war. However, we are not being told the whole story. Are we to fight the spread of communism only in Greece and Turkey? What about France and Italy, and Egypt, Palestine, and Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, India and the East Indies, China, Korea, the Philippines, and all the rest of the world? What about communism here at home? Are we to oppose it elsewhere and permit it to thrive unopposed here in America?

Must we fight another war? I believe that answer will be given by Russia, rather than by ourselves. If another war does come it may matter little whether we win or lose, for civilization cannot stand another world conflict. The United States cannot stand the winning of another great victory. As certainly as I speak here, if another world war does not mean the end of civilization, it will, at least, mean the end of representative government, and liberty and freedom for the average individual.

After every war there is always less liberty and less freedom, and more hunger and greater suffering. If it is not to be war, how long can the 140,000,000 people here in the United States feed, finance, and police the world, or any great portion of it?

If this new proposed foreign policy is to cost the 15 to 30 billion dollars many estimate it will; if we are to continue to furnish the food, the clothing, the machinery, and the equipment the world needs and demands; if we send hundreds of thousands, and perhaps millions, of our young men to police humanity's danger spots; there is a strong likelihood we shall so weaken ourselves here at home as to fall an easy prey to those Communists and radicals within our own ranks who even now are attempting to destroy our representative government, and to set up in its stead some sort of a socialized state here in America.

Two years ago the nations of a war-weary world sent representatives to San Francisco to endeavor

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to work out some means of preventing a third world war. Asking, in every tongue, the guidance of divine providence, the delegates to the San Francisco Conference labored and brought forth a new international organization — the United Nations. Its purpose was to preserve the peace of the world and to protect the territorial and political integrity of the smaller nations.

In less than a year the first real test of that organization came, when Russia, who had insisted upon being given the veto power in the Security Council as the price for her joining the United Nations, broke an agreement to withdraw her troops from Iran, and insisted upon keeping them in that oil-rich land. The United States did not move as an individual nation to force withdrawal of the Russian troops from Iranian territory. Instead an appeal was taken by the Iranian Government to the United Nations and with the support of the delegates from this country, and from almost every other freedom-loving nation on the face of the earth, the United Nations organization was able to marshal public opinion throughout the world and, through it, to force the withdrawal of Russian troops from Iran. It was a great victory for the United Nations. It augured well for the future.

BY-PASS THE U. N.

Yet, here a year later, when no Russian troops are in either Greece or Turkey, we propose by this legislation to ignore and bypass the United Nations, to lay ourselves open to the false charge of imperialism and to take upon ourselves the single-handed responsibility of stopping the spread of communism in those countries.

Let me say to you, in all sincerity, by the enactment of this bill we shall drive a dagger into the very heart of the United Nations. We shall destroy it. We shall make certain of its death. How much wiser it would be if we were to appeal to the United Nations to aid Greece and Turkey in protecting their political and territorial integrity, while we serve and help the hungry and destitute of Greece. How much better it would be were we to loan our strength to the support of the United Nations in solving the Grecian-Turkish situation, rather than to risk it on a single game of pitch and toss in the Mediterranean. How much better if we would furnish most of the financial aid, the goods and the men, to the United Nations, and then, under the auspices of that organization, and with the moral support of other liberty-loving peoples of the world, make a united stand against the spread of communism and the threats of aggression.

No, my friends, if you really believe in world peace, if you want to stop the spread of communism and the march of the aggressor, you will not by-pass the United Nations, but instead will strengthen and use it as the one vehicle by which the great goal we all seek can be gained.

Let us test the sincerity of Russia. Let her join with the rest of the peace-loving nations of the earth in making the United Nations work in preserving the peace, and in protecting the territorial and political integrity of the weak. Or, if she chooses, let her refuse to cooperate and give her the opportunity to withdraw from the United Nations, or to be expelled if she does not wish to keep her solemn promises and pledges as made at San Francisco. If that last final step becomes necessary, then let the peace-

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loving countries of the earth ostracize Russia from the society of decent nations. Let diplomatic and commercial relations be severed. Let the iron curtain become effective both ways.

It it with the firm conviction that not until the United Nations and the ostracizing of Russia have failed, should we, as an individual Nation, take upon ourselves the responsibilities of either feeding, financing, and policing the whole world, or of fighting another world war.

Therefore, at the proper time I shall offer or support an amendment which would refer this whole matter to the United Nations, while, in the meantime, we can move to relieve the sufferings of our friends in Greece.

Mr. Eaton (R., New Jersey): The adoption by our Government and people of the principles upon which this proposed foreign policy is based involves great risks. The rejection of these principles involves greater risks. . . . It was no more criminal to scuttle our Navy and reduce our armed forces to skeleton proportions under the Harding administration than it was under the Roosevelt administration to beat our breasts and wail to high heaven in sympathy with the Chinese and at the same time furnish Japan with oil and scrap with which to blast their cities and riddle their helpless bodies.

To adhere to our former uncertain policy is one alternative. The other is: Are we to adopt a new, firm, permanent, and far-sighted policy that will command respect throughout the world, give assurance to our friends, and give to every potential enemy reason to stop and think before seriously contemplating an act of aggression against us?

Yes; the forces of disintegration are on the march in all the countries which share our belief in the kind of world state we seek to establish. Greece and Turkey stand as bulwarks against Communism in its spread from east to west, and their fall would hasten its further spread from the east around the world in the other direction. Should they succumb to communistic influence, we will see that doctrine spread like consuming fire from the Dardanelles to the China Sea, and then in the other direction throughout Europe. Soon America, aided with such feeble efforts as England may be able to command will stand alone against this despicable, evil, and degrading theory and form of government. So we are not pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire.

Incidentally it might be said, though such a consideration is relatively unimportant as respects this proposed legislation, the first fruits that would fall to Russia as her influence engulfed Greece and Turkey would be the control of 27,000,000,000 barrels of oil underground in the Middle East. When we realize that the United States has an estimated 21,000,000,000 barrels only underground, and that oil, or the lack of it, wins or loses a war, we have some food for thought on that score.

* * *

Within the last hundred years there has developed, principally in Europe, a devastating counter movement against the principle of freedom. Its prophet in the beginning was Karl Marx. His announced objective was in accord with the ideals and principles of freedom. His motive however was hate, which is the most reactionary and destructive force in human nature. His method

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for achieving economic freedom for the masses of men, he called, the class conflict, which was simply hate expressed in terms of destruction rather than construction.

Out of this Marxian glorification of hate and violence grew a three-pronged ideology, each based upon some particular form of class hatred, each destructive of every freedom for which man had fought for thousands of years, and each inspired by a mad dream of world conquest, either by force of arms or by traitorous penetration of self-governing societies, or by both.

Fascism destroyed itself when it came in contact with organized freedom. Nazism was destroyed at a frightful cost, leaving a large section of the civilized world in social, political, and economic ruin. Communism, in its essence close kin to fascism and nazism, now bestrides the shattered world like a colossus. It seems to have forgotten nothing and learned nothing from the frightful tragedies that have darkened the first half of this alleged century of progress.

No amount of wishful thinking or mawkish sentimentality can disguise the grim facts of the communistic march toward world domination.

During and since the war Russia has taken over the northern strip of Finland for the purpose of dominating the arctic, and the southern tip of Finland which gives her domination over the Baltic.

She has absorbed the three independent Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

She has taken a substantial slice of eastern Poland.

She has acquired dominion, more or less complete, over the internal government and economy of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

Henderson in the *Providence Journal-Bulletin*

"THE CORK"

Her armed forces are devouring the substance of Austria.

In the Orient, with or without the consent of her allies, she has acquired immeasurable influence in the communistic areas of China and neighboring regions.

She has stripped Manchuria bare of its immensely valuable productive machinery.

She has acquired control of one of the great railroad arteries of that region.

She has assumed dominance of Port Arthur and Darien.

She has taken over the most productive half of Korea and held it incommunicado behind an iron curtain against the United States.

She has been granted undisputed possession of the Kurile Islands and the Japanese half of Sakhalin.

And today the Communists, either directly or through their satellites—Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria—hover upon the borders of Greece and Turkey ready to take over these two essential gateways to the Orient.

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Much of this expansion of Russian power has taken place in complete disregard of the obligations which she has assumed in the organization of the United Nations.

If Russia were permitted to take Greece and Turkey, her next steps of course would be Iran and Afghanistan, India, and China, all of which countries border upon Russian territory.

These are the deep spiritual forces and the external facts which make the foreign policy, enunciated by President Truman on March 12, absolutely inevitable if free self-governing nations and institutions are to survive here and elsewhere throughout the world. And these are the reasons why, in full knowledge of the risk involved, the United States must for our own protection and for the peace of the world go to the help of Greece and Turkey at this time.

I would recognize the validity of many of the secondary arguments advanced against this legislation by conscientious and patriotic Members of the House if the world situation, with which we are confronted, were other than that which I have described. But these secondary considerations are of absolutely no avail in solving the supreme issue which confronts today not only our Government and people, but the entire world. That issue is simply this,

Is the world civilization now in process of creation to be a civilization of freedom or of slavery? Does Americanism or communism hold the key to the future of mankind?

There stands the challenge which we must meet. And we must meet it here and now.

The moving finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line;
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

Mr. Vorys (R., Ohio): What makes this bill unique, a new policy for us, is that Russia seems to be offended at our friendly response to a request for help from her neighbors. Stalin knows Greece and Turkey are not going to attack Russia. He knows Russia is pledged not to attack them The new part of the policy is that we may respond to requests for economic assistance and legitimate military advice on defense, whether Russia likes it or not.

PEACE

Will Russia fight over this? I think not. The experts say Russia will not fight now because she is not ready. These same experts said Russia would not last 90 days against the Germans. If Russia fights, the assistance possible under this bill would not enable Greece or Turkey to stand for long unassisted against an all-out Soviet attack. That simple fact plainly shows the fundamentally unmilitary character of this particular bill. On the other hand, if any nation, anywhere, launched an aggressive, unprovoked attack on a neighbor now, I think this Congress would back a United Nations request for police action, and would join with other nations for collective defense under article 51 of the Charter, if the Security Council were paralyzed by a veto, and I think our counterblow as a part of such collective self-defense would not necessarily be made at the place where the attack was taking place but might be by air elsewhere. This bill does not commit us on that question. The passage of this bill shows, however, that we will not refuse justified and necessary unilateral action, even though ex-

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pensive and unpleasant, merely because of the threat of unjustified and unnecessary unilateral action, however unpleasant and expensive, by the Soviets. This bill shows we are not pulling out of Europe, but intend to stay and help work things out.

If we fail to do anything to assist Greece and Turkey now, there is no reasonable chance of their resisting the pressures now being exerted against them. If they go down and become satellites and the satellite frontier moves forward, we may expect political disorder and economic disruption in the Near and Middle East from the same causes, and with similar results. After the domination of the Dandanelles and the Suez Canal by the Soviets, there is no effective strategic, economic, or ideological line of resistance short of the Atlantic, and we know that this ocean is now no barrier to subversive infiltration activities which are now going on in the capitals of the western hemisphere. Such activities are going on right here in Washington. If we do nothing now, when our right has been challenged even to help and advise these two nations, our decision will announce to the world that we are withdrawing to the western hemisphere, and no amount of talking, of making proposals in the Security Council will convince the aggressors or their would-be victims otherwise. I know, from personal talks with statesmen and common people in Greece, Turkey, and from the other nations in Europe and the Near East who had representatives at the Interparliamentary Union meeting in Cairo, what a lift this Greek-Turkish proposal has given them. If we do nothing now, we might as well withdraw to our own borders, double our military budget, adopt universal military training, and get ready for the bitter end of World War II in a few years.

If fighting should break out now, at least Russia will not be as ready as she will be in a few years with a continent to use as a base. After seeing the war-devastated countries, I believe in fighting our wars away from home. I think this bill is a step toward peace, by stopping Russia from achieving the fruits of war by unprovoked, unjustified, yet unresisted aggression. On the issue of whether this brings us near to war or not, I prefer to rely on this judgment of General Marshall rather than that of General Bender. I think the bill will bring Russia to her senses. If it does not, and war with Russia is inevitable, and she starts now, we will be better able to defend ourselves now than later.

GREECE AND TURKEY

I was in Greece and Turkey a little over 3 weeks ago. I realize that I did not become an expert in the few days that I was there. I learned enough, however, from what I saw, and from my talks with Greek and Turkish officials, with our American representatives, with newspaper correspondents, and others to confirm the information given by our Ambassadors and others in the hearings and to refute certain reckless generalities that have been made in this debate.

Turkey is not a corrupt and venal dictatorship. Its government is not perfect by any means. They are struggling to become a western democracy. They have adopted our clothes, our alphabet, our Sunday, and an enlightened code of laws. They have an opposition party which attacks the party in power for its extravagance, corruption, and inefficiency. This proves, at least, the

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degree of free speech permitted in Turkey. One of our delegates said that these criticisms sound just like home.

* * *

I have been assured, by Turks and by Americans in Turkey, that the Turks will fight to the last man against any Russian invasion, whether we help or not. The lend-lease equipment we have already given them is of value in their defense. The assistance planned in this bill, only a part of which is for arms and ammunition, will enable them to defend themselves more effectively and will relieve the dreadful strain of their present burden. The encouragement to them and the deterrent to their enemies which is implied in this assistance is of even greater importance.

Greece is not a royalist dictatorship. Greece has a very weak Government, with a new King, uncertain of his position, with a coalition of anti-Communist parties attempting to carry on and preserve order in a poor country that suffered more than any other in the war. I have had Greek republicans, who opposed the monarchy, tell me that they would prefer to see any new election postponed until the country can get on its feet and feel safe from outside aggression, for only then, they say, can a free choice be made between a monarchy and a republic in Greece. At present, the only choice is between the constitutional monarchy, which was voted in by a fair election last fall, and communism. The connection between the Communists in Greece and Moscow is so clear that it is taken for granted in Athens. I saw leftist papers on the streets, with pictures of Stalin and cartoons against the United States. Their contents shows that they are part of the world-wide Communist movement headed from Moscow. A day in Athens confirms what our Ambassadors and high officials have told us.

* * *

By this new policy we seek a happy ending of World War II without further fighting.

The administration made a lot of mistakes in launching this program. Republicans should have been consulted earlier. Paul Porter, the most thoroughly repudiated public official in America, should not have headed the mission to Greece. The United Nations should have been informed earlier. We should never have been told that March 31 was the deadline.

So what? All of this is spilled milk—very sour spilled milk—but there is no use crying over it. If this bill is voted down it will be taken the world over, not as a vote of protest against the administration's past mistakes, but as a vote against the new policy of firmness backed with action instead of words. It will look like a vote of confidence in Stalin, a vote of lack of confidence in ourselves and our way of life. This bill does not give the Governments of Greece or Turkey a vote of confidence. It is their own lack of confidence that prompts their requests.

CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRACY

We are not going to take over the Governments. We are going to furnish a lot of advice, pressing advice, but they will run themselves. In the end, suppose after we have furnished all this help, they vote into power, by fair elections, a Communist regime controlled from Moscow. Why, then we are through. Democracy, as we know it, is through. We are told that just will not happen, that no country in the

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world outside Russia ever adopted communism by majority vote. Remember, the Communist system involves a single minority party taking over the government by revolutionary means. But if, with the provisions for publicity in this bill, with the urge for freedom we know is aflame in those nations, the Communists can win in a fair election, we, of course, are through.

It is our faith that people who have a chance to be free will stay free. We need a little more faith and confidence in ourselves, our system. We need to believe in it. We need a little more of the missionary zeal the Communists have. This is our chance. I have such faith in the dynamic power of democracy that I believe we will save money on our military budget eventually by a judicious and well-ordered plan of assisting in the rebuilding of the economy and the defense of the world. I believe this will bring peace nearer; at worst, it will make our defense cheaper.

I am concerned at the strain on our resources, but if we act wisely we will not go bankrupt. We need more faith in the terrific productive power of our free land. I believe that our production plant, with the marvelous possibilities of atomic energy just ahead, is going to make us and the world richer. I believe that our American way of doing things is going to sweep over the world, including Russia, not by force, but by friendliness; not by military power, but by spiritual power; not because of its might, but because it is right.

I have faith in America. We have the kind of strength, moral and material, to assist Greece and Turkey and a war-torn world, right in our stride, as we grow stronger here at home.

Mr. Klein (D., New York): You have undoubtedly heard that in a recent poll 63 per cent of the American people felt that the problem of Greece and Turkey should be turned over to the U.N., while only 23 per cent were opposed, 14 per cent had no opinion. I am sure that you will hear it again. I mention it here now, because I think it is a good idea to take our discussion out of the realm of politics and bring it down to earth. We can do that best by quoting facts.

FACTS

It is a fact that we were given to understand that the British would withdraw their troops and Communism would take over in Greece and Turkey if we did not vote this program before March 31. It is now May 6 and the British still tramp the streets of Athens and no pitched battles rage on the Turkish frontiers.

It is a fact that we were assured that this measure would strengthen democracy. Yet, the day after it was announced, the monarchist government of the King of Greece swooped down on hundreds of moderate democrats in Athens and trundled them off. As if by signal—instead of the emergence of a democratic regime—the King of Greece watched benignly while monarchist bands murdered 21 men in cold blood held under his protection, in the royal jail—and then complimented the murderers.

* * *

Mr. O. John Rogge, former special assistant to the Attorney General, has explained this key. Addressing the Independent Oil Men's Association of New England on April 16, Mr. Rogge pointed out that American oil companies now owned or controlled 40 per cent of the Mid-

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dle East oil production and the percentage is growing steadily. That is a substantial "chestnut."

The Washington correspondent of Barron's Financial Weekly wrote on March 17 that the Truman doctrine "in effect creates an American-trained Turko-Greek army between Russia and the world's largest oil reserves."

I think we must appreciate the frankness of some business interests. They at least do not say "democracy" when they mean "oil empire." If this issue could be put to the American people on this frank and honest basis, undisguised by arguments about relief and communism, I know a workable solution could be found within the framework of the United Nations, to which the majority of the American people have indicated that the problem of Greece and Turkey should be referred. As Mr. Rogge said:

There is no reason why the oil reservoirs of the Middle East should not be pooled for international purposes, supervised by an international commission and run by independent oil companies under a license system.

But such a sensible policy would not guarantee to Standard Oil, Gulf Oil, and other American oil interests the monopoly control they desire. So we are to run the risk of catastrophic war in order to secure control for these monopolists.

Let me give you a description of the oil properties in the Middle East, to which Greece and Turkey are considered the keys:

In Iraq, a subsidiary of Iraq Petroleum Co., controlled by Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum along with dominant British and minor French and Dutch interests, has a 75-year concession, with the United States companies entitled to get nearly a fourth.

Kuwait Oil Co. has a 75-year concession on the borders of Iraq in the Kingdom of Kuwait, a British protectorate at the head of the Persian Gulf. This company is owned jointly by the Gulf Oil Corp.—Mellon—and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., a British company. Its production is about 40,000 barrels daily.

The rest of Iraq not covered by other concessions is exploited by the Basrah Petroleum Co., a subsidiary of Iraq Petroleum, which as noted above, is owned jointly by United States, British, Dutch, and French interests.

In Iran, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum Oil Co. are involved through a purchase agreement in the 60-year concession in southern Iran given to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. This British concern has an output of over 400,000 barrels a day. It is now planning an $80,000,000 pipe line from the Iranian fields to the Mediterranean to be completed by 1949.

In Saudi Arabia, American interests have a concession covering 281,000,000 acres and control virtually all the oil reserves through the Arabian American Oil Co.—Aramco—which is already getting out about 200,000 barrels a day. It has contracted for a 1,200-mile pipe line to the Mediterranean coast to be completed by 1949.

Aramco is owned jointly by Standard Oil Co. of California and the Texas Co. and is now transferring about 40 per cent of its stock interest to Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, the biggest of the oil trusts, and to Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., another company in the Rockefeller group.

A loan to Aramco of over $100,000,000 is reportedly being made by a group of United States banks headed by the Chase National Bank

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—a Rockefeller bank—while another loan of $125,000,000 is being extended by a group of insurance companies.

In the Bahrein Islands, a protectorate of Great Britain off the east coast of Arabia, the Bahrein Petroleum Co. is exploring, producing and refining oil. Bahrein Petroleum is owned half by Standard Oil Co. of California and half by the Texas Co.

In Qatar on the Persian Gulf, also under British protection, the government is actually run by the Petroleum Development, Ltd., subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Co. which I mentioned earlier. The oil reserves here are estimated at 1,000,000,000 barrels.

In Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Cyprus, Trans-Jordan, and coastal Arab states, the Iraq Petroleum Co., controlled by United States, British, Dutch, and French interests, has oil rights to lands with estimated reserves of around 5,000,000,000 barrels.

These being the facts, it is a crime against the American people to withhold them from their full and free consideration, so that they can judge the policy on its real merits. It is they who must do the fighting and dying in war. It is upon them that the immediate economic consequences of this policy will fall.

* * *

One of the most serious objections to the so-called Truman doctrine is that by extending unilateral aid to Greece and Turkey the United States is bypassing the United Nations and other international bodies which we are pledged to support. The United Nations, the world's great hope for peace and security, will be undermined by this defection of the greatest power in the world.

* * *

If action is required to restore the economy of Greece, it should be carried out through the agencies of the United Nations in accordance with the proposals of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Such funds as are required for this purpose should be granted to the U.N. by an appropriation of Congress. But no funds should be released until there has been established in Greece a coalition government replacing the present reactionary government. The function of this coalition government should be to hold office during a transition period in which honest attempts would be made to end the civil war by conciliation and by the promise of fundamental reforms.

TURKEY

With regard to Turkey, I am opposed to giving them any sort of help whatsoever.

In the first place, Turkey is not a democracy, and never was. In the second place, if she was not actually an ally of Germany, she enjoyed a benevolent neutrality during World War II. She played one side against the other, until, finally, yielding to United Nations pressure, on February 23, 1945, she declared war on Germany and Japan.

In direct violation of the Montreux convention, she permitted Nazi warships to enter the Black Sea, from which they assisted in the siege and capture of Odessa and Sevastopol, and contributed substantially to the Nazi advance on Stalingrad. Her capital, Ankara, was a haven of refuge and a vantage point for Von Papen and many high Nazi diplomats, and a headquarters for the Gestapo.

In the third place, Turkey does not require financial aid. Her budget deficit is small and she has a

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gold reserve. A British retreat from commitments in Turkey would not have great economic effect. Consequently, the problem of Turkey is not quite the same as the problem of Greece. If Turkey's security is threatened, her case should be placed before the Security Council of the United Nations.

Mr. Hays (D., Arizona): Mr. Chairman, two objections have been repeatedly urged against this bill: First, that America's moral leadership will be damaged and, second, that the program authorized by the measure would expose us to dangers.

Now, let us look at this charge that moral principles are involved. The hearings are deficient in this respect. A number of witnesses representing various organizations appeared before the committee to plead that any display of force to protect the independence of Greece and Turkey would impair our moral position in the world.

MORAL LEADERSHIP

In the debate today opponents have asserted that the bill would by-pass the United Nations and would hurt our influence in the world. They invoke the principles of moral leadership. The implication is that use of force is incompatible with a strong moral position. They speak of the rule of law as if it can be maintained without an enforcing power. The hope of a long reign of peace is indeed the United Nations, but that hope will never be realized until an adequate force is at the disposal of that great agency. It should be a latent force, but it must be available just as the police force is available for the execution of judgments in the domestic courts of this land. No one can seriously contend that the United Nations is so equipped today.

I am not arguing here for military activity by the United States in the affected area except to the very limited extent outlined by the bill. I am arguing only that the strengthening of these two nations whose peace and sovereignty is threatened is not only justified in the light of our own national-security needs but is an act of international morality. It would be immoral not to exert ourselves in defense of our institutions and our ideals. If we were setting ourselves against the policies and aims of the United Nations the arguments of those who speak of moral leadership would have validity but Mr. Warren Austin's message to the Congress dispels any semblance of support for that contention.

The other objection is that the action contemplated by the bill would lead us into dangers—conceivably, it would. It is only because the other alternative is even more dangerous that we should accept this course. Surely the preceding speakers have been convincing on that point. The dilemma is not pleasant. The bill involves heavy expenditures at a time when we all wish to spare our burdened people. It is only because the dangers of inaction are greater and are certainly more imminent that we should approve this bill.

Our world is full of dangers and perhaps it will continue to be a dangerous world till the youngest among us are old men. We cannot escape danger. The colored preacher who lived down our way was right. He was asked if he had prepared his people for the dangers of the atomic bomb and his reply was, "No, I have not. I figure that we are always here at a very great risk."

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FORUM: Should Federal Aid E

YES!

By Alice B. McGinty

DESPITE the frenetic efforts of Communists, Nazis, Fascists, pressure groups and manufacturers to capture the mind of man, many Americans have yet to be convinced of Lenin's maxim that ideas are more important than guns. We may, of course, concede that ideas *are* more important than *guns*. But we are not so sure that they are more important than concrete roads, permanent waves, political graft or bookmaking. Only this fundamental confusion of values can account for the continued opposition to federal aid to public schools.

NEED

The need for such aid speaks for itself. According to the 1940 census, there are 10,000,000 illiterates over 25 years of age in the United States. In West Virginia, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina, one third of the adult population has had less than five years' schooling. This is also true of one fourth to one fifth of the adults in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas and New Mexico.

The United States Army rejected 676,300 men for educational and mental deficiencies in the recent draft; 350,000 of these men used "X" as a signature. This is equivalent to 45 combat divisions of 15,000 men each or twice the number sent to the Mediterranean and Pacific theatre combined. Of all young men drafted, 2,708,000 were rejected for health defects, many of which could have been remedied by early health education and supervision.

There are 5,000,000 school age children in the United States who are not in school.

Horace Mann said: "If you do not improve the schools, you must enlarge the prisons." We are, therefore, spending five times as much on criminals as we are on public education.

PUBLIC SCHOOL TRADITION

This record is at once an indictment of our traditional attitude toward public schools and an endorsement of a principle as old as the existence of the Republic itself. Since the early days of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the support and administration of public schools has been considered a local responsibility. Believing as we do in the fundamental soundness of decentralization, we have no quarrel with this attitude in respect to the administration of local school policy, its personnel, curriculum, or the methods and materials of instruction. It is, however, painfully obvious that local taxes

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ended To Public School Systems?

NO!

By Carol L. Thompson

IN 1947, the American people spent seven billion dollars for liquor, four billion dollars for race tracks, beauty parlors and cosmetics and only two and a half billion dollars for education. More than 40,000 teachers had an annual salary of less than $600; in 1941, the *average* teacher salary was $1470. Because of low teacher salaries, 350,000 teachers are estimated to have left the schools since 1939; only seven per cent of the college students of 1947 are preparing to teach.

No believer in the vital role of education in a democracy can eye these figures with equanimity. Yet, it does not follow necessarily that federal aid for public school education is a panacea for the ills of the American school system.

HISTORY OF FEDERAL AID

Since 1802, the Congress of the United States has passed more than 150 federal-aid-to-education bills. Land grants to the states for educational purposes began when Ohio joined the Union in 1802. In 1883, outright money grants were made to the states for this purpose and in 1862 grants-in-aid for general school purposes began with the First Morrill Act, with grants for special college-level subjects. Annually recurring appropriations were instituted in 1887, and in 1914 the principle of matching federal funds with state funds began with the Smith-Lever Act. In the 1917 Smith-Hughes Act, federal aid was extended to public secondary school education. According to R. B. Marston, Director of the Legislative-Federal Relations Division of the National Education Associaaion, the amount of land given the states for educational purposes by the federal government since 1802 would equal in area 25 states the size of Connecticut; at $10 per acre, the total value of land grants is estimated at an excess of $1,275,000,000. Money grants are believed already to have amounted to over $1,000,000,000.

Thus far, both supporters and opponents of federal aid bills may be said to agree that: (1) education is vital to American democracy; (2) the present educational system of the United States, in terms of results, falls far short of even minimum standards; (3) the control of education should be left in the hands of the states.

At the present time, proponents of federal aid are engaged in the support of Senate bill 472, introduced by Robert Taft and probably coming up for discussion in the first session of the Eightieth Congress. According to the preamble of the bill, its purpose is "to authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in financing a minimum foundation

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are no longer sufficient to support even the barest minimum educational standard in many parts of the United States.

Two years before the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the general federal policy that public education is a matter for public concern was laid down in the Ordinance of 1785. This provided that a sixteenth section of every township in the Northwest Territory be set aside for the support of public schools. Since that time, Congress has passed 160 federal-aid-to-education laws. The C.C.C. set up by Congress in 1933 provided funds for an educational program for unemployed young men. The N.Y.A. assisted students in grammar schools, high schools, colleges and universities from 1935-43. Federal funds were made available for defense training in high schools and colleges in 1940. The Lanham Act, 1941, provided funds for school buildings in war-crowded areas, centers for pre-school children and school services such as free hot lunches and transportation.

Thus public funds have been used throughout our history for both general and specific educational purposes. This body of legislation is adequate testimony that public education is a matter for public concern. The time is long overdue to realize the fuller implications of this principle: that *education for all is the responsibility of all.*

Undoubtedly there are many recalcitrant spirits among taxpayers who are convinced that education is neither necessary nor important or that "other things," i.e. alcohol and cigarettes, are more important. Granting these "rugged individualists" the sanctity of their birthright to think what they please and spend their money as they please, they have no right to limit the educational opportunity of the American child. As the state guarantees our civil liberties, it, too, may guarantee certain minimal social opportunities in those areas where they are otherwise unobtainable.

If we believe in the equality of men; if we believe each individual should have an opportunity to realize his capacities to the full; if we believe in the value of a non-stratified, relatively classless society, we must implement these beliefs by providing opportunities for their fulfillment.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Our much vaunted equality of opportunity is a myth. The very nature of our industrial society tends toward stratification and consequent limitation of opportunity. It is, therefore, doubly important that we act now to achieve some equality of educational opportunity to counteract this tendency.

Those areas which have the greatest number of children to educate, the Southeast (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia) and the Southwest (Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas) are least able to do so. They have 28 per cent of population, eight per cent of the national income and 32 per cent of the nation's children. Although some of them may spend a greater proportion of their income for schools than wealthier states, they are still unable to spend even $40 per year, per pupil, which is the federal minimum standard. It seems simple justice to equalize this burden.

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California, for example, which has 172 school age children per 1,000 population, is more than three and one half times as able to educate its children as West Virginia, which has 281 school age children per 1,000 population, and four and a half times as able as Mississippi, which has 263 children per 1,000 population. Thus, even if all states had the same amount of money to spend on education, there would still be substantial differences in the amount of money available per child in each of the 48 states. This distribution of the school age population is not likely to change in the near future. Of the 12 states having the highest fertility ratios (the number of children under five for each 1,000 women between the ages of 20 and 44), eight were in the Southeast and Southwest. All were below the national average in income payments per capita in 1943.

In 1942-43, the average expenditure per pupil was more than five times as great in New York as in Mississippi. In 1939-40, local school expenses per classroom unit were 10 times as high in New York as in Mississippi. New York State paid an average salary four times greater in 1942-43 than that paid in Mississippi. The average school year in Illinois was one fourth longer than in Mississippi. The per-pupil money value of school property was six and a half times as great in New York State in 1941-42 as in Alabama. The State of Washington had twice as many high school pupils for each 1,000 youths of high school age in 1940 as had Mississippi.

Every one of the 12 states ranking highest in educational rejections from the Army were in the Southeast or the Southwest; nine of them were among the lowest 12 in income per school child in 1943. The rejection rate for educational deficiencies ranged from 0 in Delaware, Montana and Wyoming to 136 per 1,000 in Georgia.

Of the 12 states ranking lowest in their efforts to support schools, eight are in the Northeast or the Far West; there are only three in the Southeast. Eight of the 11 Southeastern states, however, make efforts below that of the national average. Of the 12 states making the greatest effort, only three are among the 12 spending the most money. To provide $105 per pupil in average daily attendance (the average amount spent in the United States in 1943-44) Mississippi would have to make five times as much effort as the richest state, California.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

The industrialization of our society has made dependence on local taxes for school support obsolete. On April 1, 1940, the number of persons living in a given state who had been born in other states ranged from 60,000 in Vermont to 3,362,000 in California; seven states had more than a million migrants; 17 had more than half a million; 33 had more than a quarter of a million. Of the 12 states having the largest number of residents born in other states, only one was in the Southeast, Florida, and only two were in the Southwest, Texas and Oklahoma. Thus the migrants from the poorer areas carry their educational deficiencies with them wherever they go. Of the 24 states contributing the largest number of migrants, nine are in the

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Southeast. In the war period from April 1, 1940-November 1, 1943, the Southeast lost 1,079,000 people through migration.

Our educational deficiencies have been aggravated by the war. The less able states where the need is greatest have lost larger proportions of qualified teachers than have the wealthier states; they have employed more teachers with substandard certificates. More than 50,000 teaching positions were eliminated entirely. The number of teachers with substandard certificates rose from the peacetime rate of 4,000 to 105,000 in 1945-46.

FEDERAL CONTROL

Those opposed to federal aid are dedicated to the proposition that there is no federal aid without federal control. Yet our experience of 160 years with federal aid to education shows that *federal control accompanies federal funds only when so authorized by law.* S. 472, which was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Robert Taft of Ohio on January 31, 1947, while providing a sound method of extending federal aid, specifically forbids federal control:

> Section 2. No department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision or control over, or prescribe any requirements with respect to any school, or any State educational institution or agency, with respect to which any funds have been or may be made available or expended pursuant to this Act, nor shall any term or condition of any agreement or any other action taken under this Act, whether by agreement or otherwise, relating to any contribution made under this Act to or on behalf of any school, or any State educational institution or agency, or any limitation or provision in any appropriation made pursuant to this Act seek to control in any manner, or prescribe requirements with respect to or authorize any department, agency, officer or employee of the United States to direct, supervise, or control in any manner, or prescribe any requirements with respect to the administration, the personnel, the curriculum, the instruction, the methods of instruction or the materials of instruction, nor shall any provision of this Act be interpreted or construed to imply or require any change in any State constitution prerequisite to any State sharing the benefits of this Act.

PROVISIONS OF S. 472

The bill provides that $150,000,000 be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948; $200,000,000 the next year and $25,000,000 for every year thereafter to equalize public elementary and secondary school opportunities among and within the states. This aid is to be allotted to the states in direct ratio to the number of children to be educated and in inverse ratio to the ability of the state to pay a minimum of $40 per child per school year. Each state is free to qualify the amount of aid it will receive. The bill will provide the states with the difference between the cost of the $40 foundation program and the amount of state and local revenues available after reasonable effort has been made when such revenues are less than the cost of the foundation program. States which wish to qualify for the full

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amount of federal aid to which they are entitled must make average national effort to provide good schools for their children. Average national effort is the investment of not less than 2.5 per cent of the average annual state income for a five year period specified in the act.

Only those local school jurisdictions that continue to pay average monthly salaries to their teachers not less than the average monthly salary paid as of February 1, 1947, will be entitled to receive aid under the act. This provision was designed to prevent the reduction of teachers' salaries customarily paid from state and local funds and the substitution of federal funds without the improvement of teachers' salaries.

This money shall not be used to replace state and local funds as it will be allotted only to those states which provide support for schools out of state funds not less than the amount spent per pupil in average daily attendance in the fiscal year 1946.

States that provide separate public schools for separate races must provide a just and equitable apportionment of such funds for the benefit of the minority schools without reduction in the proportion of the state and local funds expended during the fiscal year ending in 1946. Current expenditures for the schools maintained for each separate race must average not less than $40 per pupil in average daily attendance per year.

Federal funds may be used to support private schools in those states where provision is made for the expenditure of state and local funds for the same purpose.

Those who are opposed to the expenditure of federal funds for education point out that the states have surpluses in their treasuries whereas the national treasury is broke. This assumes that surpluses are recurring revenues, that all states have unobligated surpluses, that these surpluses are available for education, and, if they were used, the need for federal aid would be eliminated. Eight states have no unobligated surpluses. Even if unobligated state surpluses were used entirely for school expenditures—and this is indeed a far fetched assumption—federal aid would still be necessary to provide the $40 minimum per child per school year. Furthermore, these surpluses in the states' treasuries are a result of war prosperity. Once these sums are spent they cannot be replaced except by higher state and local taxes. They cannot provide the money for a long range educational program.

In summary, we conclude that equality of educational opportunity can be made a reality through the extension of federal aid to the states. S. 472 provides the means by which this can be done with the maximum of state control. As the United States assumes its role as a great power, it can do nothing less than provide its citizens with a minimum opportunity to meet their increasingly complex responsibilities.

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education program of public elementary and secondary schools, and in re-

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ducing the inequalities of educational opportunities through public elementary and secondary schools . . ." A 22-line section is devoted to specific prohibitions on the federal government to prevent any degree of federal control over education.

The most potent argument for federal aid is the discrepancy in income and educational appropriations between poor and rich states; between, say, Arkansas and California. In 1943, for example, the per capita income in California was $1429; the per capita income of Arkansas was $512. Arkansas spent $38.59 per pupil in 1942; California, $166.92. Federal aid, argue its supporters, will equalize educational opportunities for all children in all states.

MONEY A POOR STANDARD

It must be recognized first of all that money is not the only value standard for education. Some poorer states and poorer schools actually offer their students better education than expensive schools in richer states. No one can deny, for example, the educational defects in some of our most expensive, big, city high schools. Within a single state, school districts spend widely varying amounts on education, and educational standards vary. According to Alvin A. Burger, research director of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce:

"In New Jersey there are school districts which spent more than $250 per pupil last year, while the average expenditure for the state was $172, but the district enjoying the reputation of maintaining one of the best school systems in the State spent only $140 per pupil—$32 under the State average, and only half as much as some of the more extravagantly run districts. There are school districts spending over $250 per pupil where instructional standards are far below the state average."

Comparisons between states are also significant. New York State spends 41 per cent of its state income on education ($299,913,322): the average educational attainment in New York is however only 8.4 school years. Utah, on the other hand, has the highest school attainment, 10.7 years; yet Utah spends only 25 per cent of its income on education.

It must be remembered also that comparative statistics on per capita income and per capita pupil expense are inaccurate and misleading because they do not reflect the broad variations in the cost of living between geographical areas and between rural and urban communities (the same is true of figures on teachers' salaries).

Nonetheless, we must admit that Arkansas, which is forty-seventh in per capita income of all the states, has a hard time providing even the small $38.59 per pupil in the light of its per capita income. Yet S. 472 will hardly equalize educational opportunity between Arkansas and, say Pennsylvania, which now spends $106.90 (1942 figure) per capita on its pupils. Under the equalization fund set up by S. 472, Arkansas will receive $3,575,138 in federal funds: but the Arkansas taxpayer will carry an additional tax

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burden to support federal aid to states infinitely better off. Pennsylvania will receive $5,802,874 in federal funds; and the New England states will receive a total of $1,939,398 under the provisions of S. 472.

POLITICS IN ARKANSAS

To return to the problem of Arkansas, what is the actual organization of its educational system? From Dr. George S. Benson, chairman of the executive committee of the Arkansas Public Expenditure Council, we get the following pertinent information. In June of 1944, there were 106 school districts in Arkansas with less than 10 pupils per district. Some districts were 100 square miles in area, others, less than one square mile. In a single community there were six small school districts with 35 pupils in all and six different school buses transported them to their schools at a cost of $600 per month. Inequalities of wealth were also glaring: 270 districts being unable to raise as much as $100 per year from local taxation.

"The real need," says Dr. Benson, "is to set our own house in order rather than ask for Federal aid to keep a disorderly house supplied with unnecessary funds."

Nor can state administered federal aid do much to correct educational disadvantages suffered by Southern Negroes. S. 472, the Senate federal aid bill now under discussion, provides that: "In States where separate public schools are maintained for separate races [a state must] provide for a just and equitable apportionment of such funds for the benefit of minority races without reduction of the proportion of state and local moneys expended for educational purposes during the fiscal year ended in 1947 for minority races . . ."

Although *federal funds* might be equitably administered, the inequalities of *basic state appropriations* would be maintained. Nor is it possible to conceive that without rigid federal control Southern Negro schools will approach white standards in the foreseeable future.

Proponents of federal aid, including, of course, the powerful teacher lobby group (N.E.A.), argue that it will alleviate differentials in teacher salaries and raise the salary of the average teacher. According to the N.E.A., more than half the teachers in the United States in 1941-1942 were working in rural schools: the average salary for rural teachers was $1018 as compared to $2013 for urban teachers.

Federal aid in the bill now under consideration (S. 472) will not alleviate this difficulty in the slightest. The bill provides that funds paid to a state under the act "shall be available for disbursement by that State to local public school jurisdictions, or other State public education agencies, *for all types of current expenditures* (italics mine) excluding interest, debt service or capital outlay . . ." and, further, that "no provision of this Act shall be construed to delimit a State in its definition of its program of public education." In other words, the State of New Jersey might allocate all its federal funds for visual education; the state of Pennsylvania might pour

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its money into big city school programs, leaving the rural teachers to their one room school houses and out-door privies. And when rural teachers are handicapped by the one-room schoolhouse, this act will not improve their position since its specifically prohibits the use of federal funds for "capital outlay": federal funds cannot go for much-needed consolidated schools. If the states today are unwilling to improve the status of rural teachers, or, for that matter, of all teachers, S. 472 will not force them to allocate federal funds for teachers' salaries.

The arguments advanced for federal aid to public school education are in reality arguments for federal control of education: only federal minimum standards for teachers' salaries and training, for curriculum necessities, for rural school buildings, for Negro education, could provide the *equal* educational opportunity demanded by the N.E.A. and its supporters. It may be inferred that proponents of federal aid are either afraid of federal control themselves, or are afraid to advocate it publicly at this time.

In truth and in fact, adequate federal aid for education will inevitably tend toward federal control. Federal aid to the farmers, to war industry, to the aged—all have been accompanied by federal control, federal rules and regulations. The United States government is based on a division of powers between the federal and the state governments. Education, according to the Constitution of the United States, is a reserved power clearly left in the hands of the state.

PRIVATE VS. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Other difficulties stand in the way of federal aid. The states of the union are by no means agreed in their policies toward non-public, i.e., private and parochial schools. Ten states have legislation restraining the use of public funds for non-public schools: 38 states permit use of such funds for non-public schools. Proponents of federal aid for education are themselves divided on this question. Advocating use of federal funds for private school education, which includes parochial school education, leaves them open to the charge that they would give federal money to the Catholic Church. This brings up the perennial church and state debate, accompanied by all the bitterness involved in religious controversy. Federal legislation giving funds to private schools in the 10 states that restrain the use of public moneys for this purpose would encroach on the power of these states.

Another difficulty standing in the way of federal aid is the rising debt of the United States government. The federal government is deficit financed; its debt is over the $258 billion mark. Federal aid will impose an additional burden on the federal government, which must be met either by raising taxes or by increasing the indebtedness of the United States government. We must not lose sight of the fact that whether the aid for

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public education comes from the federal government or from the states, the people of the United States must pay for it.

This is one of the most powerful arguments for continued state support of our educational systems. At the end of 1944, 35 states reported unobligated surpluses in their general funds, including Mississippi (forty-eighth in per capita income) and a good many other southern states. Even Arkansas, forty-seventh state in per capita income, feels that it "is able to provide adequate educational facilities." No state legislature, no state governor, has appealed to the federal government for aid for education. The states unquestionably are in better financial positions to improve their own systems than the federal government is to pour money into the old systems. it must also be remembered that some of the so-called "poor states," particularly in the South, retain low property taxes and drain the state treasuries consciously; such states could increase their own taxes to support better schools. In the same vein, many states have no state income taxes at all: others, such as New York State, impose a tax burden on their citizens which contributes to the wealth of their treasuries. Again, other states could do likewise.

Granting that American education calls for many improvements, granting that among these improvements the raising of teacher salaries and training standards is vital, it still seems to us that educational problems are best left to the states responsible for the school systems. Federal control is not desirable: federal aid without control will merely perpetuate existing inequalities and politics-ridden state systems. Basically, the task for all interested in the improvement of the public schools is the education of the taxpayer on the local level to the importance of his children's schooling. If the Arkansas taxpayer is content with the badly organized and expensive system he now suffers, he will make no improvement when the system is partly financed by the federal government. When the taxpayers of all the states are aroused to the need for better schooling, and only then, will adequate educational opportunities be offered to all American children. When that day comes, the states will be better able to afford and to administer the improved systems.

"From the letter-head you can easily see that I am in prison. As the time is drawing near for income tax returns to be filed, I'd like to know if the $800 which I stole has to be reported by me."

* * *

You're getting old when you worry about the morning after before the night before.

—*Phoenix Flame*

* * *

Dr. Donald B. Tresser says that veterans are doing so well in college that the younger students are calling them the D.A.R.'s—Damned Average Raisers.

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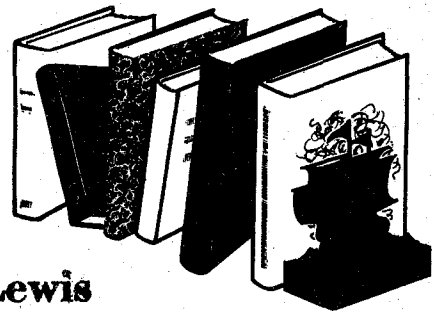
BOOKS
In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

THE story of the Truman administration is told by Tris Coffin in *Missouri Compromise* (Little, Brown and Company, $3.00). Coffin tells the tale with the keen eye of the journalist and radio newsman. He is concerned to show the ineptitudes of the administration; justly or unjustly, he succeeds, and part of his success is due to his preliminary sketch of "the master-politician," Franklin D. Roosevelt.

He pictures an already familiar Truman as "the man who could melt into a crowd very easily," "probably the most friendly and democratic man in Washington," "likes noise and crowds." Truman's simplicity, which was at first refreshing, became unbelievable. As Coffin sees it: "He never seemed to understand the awful vastness of the Federal government, and the terrible necessity to check over the agencies and weigh all the factors before making a decision." His press conferences became bywords of bungling.

Although much of the book tells old stories, Coffin's word pictures give some significant information. As he sees it, "Harry Truman is a hero worshiper. His heroes are the generals." Opinion, of course, but backed by the observation that the State Department is gradually being taken over by army men; Truman has lobbied actively for army bills with congressmen; he follows the army in his demands for universal military training, a draft and the merger of the armed forces. The "get tough" policy toward Russia is obviously an old army favorite.

A mediocre man, Truman is pictured as surrounding himself with mediocrity: George Allen, "who tells the best jokes in Washington"; General Harry Vaughan, who said of Henry Wallace, "there hasn't been a good secretary of Agriculture since Herbert Hoover." Clark Clifford, "a handsome, matinee idol type and a St. Louis lawyer," was brought to Washington by crony Jake Vardaman. Clifford became "the fellow who straightened the ribbon on the medal before it was given to Vardaman to present to the President before he awarded it in a White House ceremony."

Coffin's writing has an "on the spot, behind the scenes" quality that

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should make it popular. Character drawings like those quoted above run through the book, but the book is not superficial. Coffin is thoroughly familiar with Congress and with Congressmen: his sketches of Vandenberg, Taft, Wherry, Barkely, McKellar, Bilbo, are worth the price of admission. When he gets down to events, his leg work becomes apparent: on the floor of the House, at the committee hearings, at press conferences — Coffin was there. Whether it be the hearings on the Pauley nomination, the Bilbo investigation, price control or atomic energy control, the forces behind each group are analyzed. For a picture of lobbies at work, the section on the O.P.A. is "must reading." The American Farm Bureau Federation, backed by the cotton bloc and the cattle and corn-hog states; the N.A.M. retailers and real estate people—all opposed the O.P.A. and propagandized not only Congress but the American people. President Truman and his economic advisor, John Snyder, showed little enthusiasm for price control and Chester Bowles alone, in spite of his quick wit and magnificent poise, was unable to carry the load. When the House passed the bill abolishing subsidies, the representatives were in such an uproar that Congressman Kopplemann of Connecticut was able to get an amendment passed reading: "We sympathize with the American people."

Tris Coffin sympathizes too, as he gives Americans a word-picture of a mediocre government and rather ineffectual democratic processes. Any American interested in politics, in Congress, and in pressure groups will find information in this book. And if Mr. Coffin preferred the New Deal liberalism, the shrewd wire pulling, the drama and the power of the Roosevelt administration, that is his business. There are those of us who are not dissatisfied with the glamor-less Truman administration, whatever improvement it may need.

BRIEFER COMMENT

GENERAL INTEREST

Brown Rolston, who is an architect, offers some practical suggestions in *If You're Thinking of Building,* (Scribner's, $2.50). This is no Blandings, but a serious book. You will find the answers to some of the important questions you've ignorantly asked your builder. I did. And from a full heart and an empty checkbook, if you're thinking of building, don't!

The Mind and Heart of Love, by M. C. D'Arcy, S.J., (Holt, $3.50), is a philosophical discourse on the relationship between physical and spiritual love. Father D'Arcy reconciles these within the tenets of Christian belief. While scholarly in its approach, the book is replete with understanding of human nature.

It covers philosophy, religion,

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and other topics, with comments still applicable to the world's confusion.

The Amboy Dukes, by Irving Shulman, (Doubleday, $2.50), is unpleasant gangster life in Brownsville, Brooklyn. Few crimes in the calendar are left out, and they are made as brutal as pen can make them. Presumably this is realistic, but so are other things that are neither educational nor diverting.

All right then, I'm old fashioned. *The Scarlet Patch,* by Bruce Lancaster, (Little, Brown, $3.00), is a historical novel about the Civil War, and a French volunteer in the Rochambeau Rifles. The romantic interest is slight; a soldier's life is the thing, with the struggle between the States pictured by civil and military characters. And it leaves a clean taste in the mouth.

Then there is a dainty, slight story of what the Spanish-American war did to a girl's life. *Always Young and Fair,* by Conrad Richter, (Knopf, $2.00), is a study of character, developed by the impact of war on civilians, with a rich background of American folks and customs. It is sentimental, but full of meaning.

Man on the Half Shell, by Frederick Othman, (Whittlesey House, $2.50), is a whimsical mixture of fact and fancy. It is the columnist's biographical reminiscences of his progress up the newspaper ladder, visits to noted spots in America and some travel in Europe, post-Hitler. Ernie Pyle once wrote a piece about Othman, and it is used here as an introduction to "a very comical fellow."

How the Filipinos carried on under the Japs makes a pitiful but heroic story. *Without Seeing the Dawn,* by Stevan Javellana, (Little, Brown, $2.75), is an absorbing story of sacrifice and struggle. The Filipinos had their own Lidices. Javellana, a native of the islands, does a good job.

Miss Allick, by Rupert Croft-Cooke, (Holt, $2.75), is a rather winning novel about an English governess who became a best-selling author. Her determined character, plus a background of tea and crumpets, makes this an exceptionally pleasant, somewhat satirical book.

Suicide of an unknown, identified incorrectly, gives the basis for *New Life of Mr. Martin,* by Robert Briffault, (Scribner's, $3.00). Mr. Martin conveniently inherits oodles of pounds sterling and thereafter lives a Monte Christo life. Aside from conservative speed and over-detailed conversations, it is good fiction.

BIOGRAPHY

The story of Frederick Douglass: slave, leader in the struggle for freedom, and Minister to Haiti, is told by Shirley Graham in *There Was Once a Slave,* (Julian Messner, $3.00). The book won the Julian Messner award for the best work combating intolerance in America, and it deserves warm

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praise. It is emotionally moving; there are thrilling moments, with the serious undercurrent of purpose carrying through Abolition, the Civil War and the era that followed.

Even those surfeited with war memories will find pleasure in *Three Came Home,* by Agnes Newton Keith, (Atlantic-Little Brown, $3.00). It is Mrs. Keith's experiences as a prisoner of the Japs; with her husband and small son she was taken in Borneo and interned. It is a plain but intense story of a woman's trials and everyday problems overcome by sheer determination and hope, aided by common sense and a delicious sense of humor.

The Paris of the artists and literary folks in the years between the world wars is nostalgic memory for Samuel Putnam. *Paris Was Our Mistress,* Memories of a Lost and Found Generation, (Viking, $3.00), is not only Putnam's story but that of some of his writing friends: Ford Madox Ford, Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, Ezra Pound and others. Literary folk will enjoy it.

Taro Yashima, who authored *The New Sun* four years ago, now offers *Horizon Is Calling,* (Holt, $3.50). It is the autobiographical impressions of the author, a Japanese painter, of the changing era in the life of the Nipponese, particularly toward militarism and fascistic overlords, before Pearl Harbor. The pictures tell the story and the captions are in English and what I presume is Japanese.

FICTION

The State of Mind by Mark Schorer, (Houghton Mifflin, $3.00), is a collection of 32 short stories about ordinary people, somewhat in the O. Henry tradition. There is a melancholy about most of them that is the result of showing life as it is; they are depressing, but absorbing and intense. Some have been previously published.

An excellent "romantic biography" in narrative form, or call it historical fiction, is *Vain Shadow,* by Hartzell Spence, (Whittlesey House, $3.00). It describes the discovery of the Amazon River by Don Francisco Orellana, Spanish conquistador. It is a blending of the cruelty of the Spanish, toward each other and the natives; the part of the Church in the venture and in statecraft, and a love interest that becomes an integral part of the story.

The Big Sky by A. B. Guthrie, Jr., (William Sloane Associates, $3.50), is first, historical fiction, a story of pioneers from St. Louis to the Northwest. Secondly, it is Americana in the purest sense; not only Indians and settlers but natural history to boot. There is good old adventure and intelligent craftsmanship.

Into the run of current fiction about gangsters and the gutters of life comes *Knock on Any Door,* by Willard Motley, (Appleton Century, $3.00). It is the life and death of a Chicago ruffian, mugger and murderer. It all sounds authen-

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tic, and probably there are many case histories that would match it. If you like brutality and a thoroughly sordid tale, here it is.

Life at Harvard in the 1930's, a mixture of beer and women, and the outbreak of the war, make *Prepared for Rage* by Mark Saxton, (William Sloane Associates, $3.50), a reflection of contemporary life in the past 15 years. Saxton writes entertainingly, and his characters are quite human.

Upton Sinclair continues his Lanny Budd series with *Presidential Mission,* (Viking, $3.50). In this volume his hero is the President's agent in negotiations in North Africa before the landing, and later inside Germany. It is a painless way of acquiring historical information; it seems less interesting than its predecessors, but that may be because the war is receding.

Parenthesis, by Jacques Lemarchand, (Knopf, $2.50), is a sophisticated French trifle with roots deep in human nature, brilliantly written and smoothly translated by Louise Varese. Lemarchand has an ironic touch, an understanding of people, and a clever pen.

The preachings and ideals of the lesser figures in the Old Testament are discussed in *The Modern Message of the Minor Prophets,* by Raymond Calkins, (Harper's, $3.00). Dr. Calkins' interpretations correlate these messages with life today from a spiritual viewpoint.

Liberation from Yesterday by Max Glass-Pleshing, (Beechhurst Press, $5.00), analyzes the world situation, with considerable discussion of the political and sociological trends during the war and since. His arguments cover the important nations particularly, but he sees dangerous fascist tendencies and influences in Latin-American and other countries. If the author were a couple of shades less enthusiastic about Lenin et al., his views would be more tenable.

The American Trails Series, edited by Jay Monaghan, proposes to delineate the history of America by describing the routes of the discoverers and pioneers. *The Wilderness Road,* by Robert L. Kincaid, (Bobbs-Merrill, $3.75), is a story of the first route through the Appalachian Mountains, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky. Kincaid describes colonial days by telling about the adventurous inhabitants in the region, their trials and successes, in a delightful narrative.

The progress of the air conquest of Alaska is told by Jean Potter in *The Flying North,* (Macmillan, $3.75). The country with its perils and hardships is seen through the eyes of the individual airmen and from the author's several years spent in the territory, both on land and in the air.

Silhouettes of 22 American cities in descriptive chapters make up *Cities of America,* by George Sessions Perry, (Whittlesey House, $3.50). The articles all previously appeared in the Saturday Evening Post.

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My Place Has Its Small Fruits

Too high under the northern lights to be
Fertile, too much the bare bones of the sea,
My place has its small fruits and hard flowers:
Crabapples, brown men quiet as night hours,
The hardhack's lacy spires of purple flame,
Firs and waves no plows or boats can tame,
The high sweet cry of plovers, the gray ledges
With white eternal thunder for their edges,
Huckleberries tasting of sea and frost,
Dry everlasting-roses, lonely lost
Symphonies of bells rung by the waves,
Deer furrowing the ocean, the bright graves
Always looking to sea on the high hills,
Flute of the thrush, the whisper of whippoorwills,
Fierce little boys as wiry as the deer
With freckles burning on them ear to ear,
The pasture with crab-claws bleached whiter than snow,
Steep winding paths where men and women go
Forever single through the junipers.

Whatever lives in hard cones, thorns, or burrs
Against great wind and cold thrives here and shines:
Charity, the silver-running pines,
Independence, long-visored lobstermen,
The sharp high dory with the strength of ten
Other boats, the chickadees like sparks
Of fire on the snow, the rainbows' arcs
Picking out square houses like cut stones,
Light that gets inside the hollow bones,
The sound of song-sparrows coming through a gale
On islands far at sea, the coat of mail
Poor, common people wear through all their lives,
The ageless old men and the old young wives.

These are my flowers: the thorny pink wild briar
That scents the sea and sets cold rocks on fire,
Fringed gentians, sails above a harbor's steeple,
Marsh-rosemary, the quiet, hard, good people.

—*ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN*

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

NEW ventures in the theatre are conspicuously scarce after the first of May. Mike Todd has generously brought his fabulously successful musical, *Up in Central Park* (vintage 1945), to New York's City Center at popular prices. There have been worse musicals; this one even has a little spice in its satire on the notorious Tweed Ring. There have also been better musicals! The boy-meets-girl formula is pounded far more than the satire.

A late-comer was the melodrama, *Portrait in Black*, which supplies a good idea but very little dramatic excitement. It may be noted again that the advent of such plays only demonstrates how absurd it is for the theatre, as a rule, to vie with the cinema in the field of melodrama. The screen has rightly taken over the cultivation of the thriller that used to form a substantial part of stage drama. It is not only that the mentality that thrives on thrillers is far less abundant and indulgent among theatre audiences, but that the job can be done so much better by the moving camera. A melodrama must use action, movement and visual resources in making its assault on the nerve centers and the stage has severely limited means at its disposal. When, in the days before the motion picture, there were no other means, the audience was content with what it got on the stage. After what the movies have shown us by way of the *frisson*, the theatre could do worse than withdraw gracefully. Nobody in his right senses would race a motorcycle against a B-29 bomber. So it is hardly surprising if in recent years Broadway has had nothing to set beside films like *Double Indemnity* and *The Stranger*.

Portrait in Black, in which a woman who kills her husband with the aid of a physician tries to bind the doctor to herself by writing herself blackmailing notes, should make far better cinema fare. If anyone should be disposed to argue that the living actor can still be well accommodated by the so-called psychological melodramas, he can cite the case of *Angel Street* and *Uncle Harry*. But even in this respect the screen is overtaking the stage. We have nothing to compare with Hitchcock's *Spellbound*. Where the theatre still has an edge, it is only

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in the case of material on which film pressure groups or the Johnston office impose stultifying restrictions.

Curiously enough, one of the late-season nuggets *is* a melodrama, *The Medium*. The rub is, however, that this two-act play is a little opera, so that we are "thrilled" in a very different and very effective way. Music acts subcutaneously, and it works on, as well as with, the imagination. And the composer, Gian-Carlo Menotti, proves himself a redoubtable musician for the theatre. It is doubtful that the score can be safely detached from *The Medium,* that it could stand on its own on the concert platform like *The Firebird, L'Histoire d'un Soldat* or *Le Sacre du Printemps*. But this is not merely a way of stating that Menotti's score is not memorable. It is not detachable precisely because it is so astutely composed for the supplementation and projection of the dramatic story; this is what qualifies its composer for the theatre. Menotti also displays a talent for light composition in the curtain-raiser, *The Telephone,* a little comedy on the infernal role of the telephone in the modern world, in which a lover's proposal to his girl is constantly interrupted, so that he has to go into a telephone booth to complete marital negotiations.

The composer is also a playwright of some merit. The book he has written for *The Medium* is as imaginative a piece of theatre as we have had in many a moon—or season. An obese middle-aged woman had been playing the charlatan as a "medium," and her customers are deluded into believing that they are conversing with their cherished dead. The dead are an adopted boy, a deaf-mute, who operates the stage effects, and the medium's adolescent daughter who imitates celestial voices or appears as a ghostly child when the occasion warrants. The drama of the boy and girl who grow up in this atmosphere, fall in love, and play childish games is quite overwhelming; there is unbearable pathos in their scenes. Equally stirring is the manner in which Menotti manages to convey the desperation and need that takes the customers to the medium's eery parlor—a fine setting by Horace Armistead superbly lit by Jean Rosenthal. And now comes the melodrama: at one of the séances the medium feels an invisible hand at her throat. She who has invented spooks and has, of course, never consciously believed in them, experiences one. We never know whether Menotti intends to have us believe that there is a spirit world, and it does not matter. What matters is that the charlatan now believes in the existence of a ghost, no doubt because her long dealing with spiritualism has affected her. She is hoist with her own unbelief, so to speak.

The woman's frantic efforts to convince herself that she had not been touched by a ghost, that the prankish mute boy touched her in the dark, carry the play toward altitudes of mental anguish and hysterical cruelty. But she beats the boy in vain; she cannot force him to confess to something he has not done. Nor can she convince

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her customers at their next appearance that she has deluded them—which is both an attempt to convince herself of the non-existence of the spirit world, by convincing them, and a form of expiation. (If there are real spirits, they may be appeased by her confession that she has made a mockery of them!) But the customers' need for consolation, their will to believe, is too much for her. They return to plead with her for another seance. In desperation she drives them away, and also drives the innocent mute out of the house. At this point, unfortunately, the author's invention flags, and the conclusion dribbles out in a scene in which, in order to defend herself against the hand that is clutching at her throat, she shoots into the booth where the mute used to be concealed during seances. It is the poor mute she has killed. He had slunk back in order to be with the medium's daughter, had hidden himself there, and had made a slight noise. If Menotti had been able to dispense with this abrupt ending and had amplified the play with a third act; if, especially, he had been able to develop the psychological and perhaps metaphysical substance latent in his story, he would have had a truly memorable music-drama. The death of the mute boy cannot be an adequate climax because the woman gave no evidence of any strong attachment to him. It is, indeed, this conclusion that keeps *The Medium* from rising above the level of melodrama. Here the author could have used the example of Pirandello.

Although the performances as a whole could have stood improvement, they were well above average. The very lack of finish in the acting created an impression in this "unreal" piece. Marie Powers' playing of the medium often reached jagged peaks of pathos and frenzy that a more expert actress could not have scaled. Evelyn Keller made the daughter an utterly convincing child—bewildered, lonely, imaginative and ineffably pathetic. The lithe, poignantly expressive Katherine Dunham dancer, Leo Coleman, turned the part of the mute into a breathing work of beauty, especially in his affecting scenes with the girl. Only the stage direction had conspicuous shortcomings. The director failed to overcome that curse of operatic acting, the tradition of making the actor stand rigid and deliver his songs as though he were a piece of animated furniture. I cannot believe that this standard procedure is a technical necessity for voice projection; not after seeing how well actors can sing while moving about or performing stage business naturally. Directors of both opera and near-opera could learn from the staging of *Porgy and Bess*—or, for that matter, *Oklahoma, Carousel, Finian's Rainbow* and *Brigadoon*. They would be doing themselves a world of good, and their kindness to the public would be chalked up for them in whatever sector is reserved for opera directors, if any. *Street Scene*, which fared disappointingly with the Broadway public and closed sooner than the good New York press would have led us to expect, would have been a better

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show if the direction could have been more fluid, if we could have been spared the attitudinizing of the principals.

Of necessity, *The Medium* is caviar to the Broadway public. The audience for a work of this kind in any single community is bound to be narrowly limited. Nevertheless, it is precisely drama and theatrical music of this nature that makes the stage stimulating beyond the furthest reach of Hollywood and the networks. *The Medium* should be seen in every city that owns a civic orchestra, has an opera company, or a subscription music society.

* * *

In the space that remains for this month's column, I should like to add a note or two to last month's report on that other fascinating bit of the theatre, *The Flies*. It is worth noting that Sartre embodies a decidedly mature and inspiring view of freedom in his play. His "free" man, Orestes, experiences and uses his freedom on two distinct levels. At the beginning, his freedom consists of detachment from all causes and issues; he has no desire to avenge his father, to dethrone the usurper of the throne of Argos, or to rid his city of its tyrants. Taught by his tutor, the representative of above-the-scene, sceptic intellectualism, the exponent of the "civilized" attitude which tells him, in effect, 'you must be a detached observer, you know better than to commit yourself,' Orestes feels light as gossamer. He can cry out "This is not *my* palace, nor *my* door. . . . These folk are of no concern of mine." Nevertheless, Orestes, too, must commit himself, for the feeling of dissociation has its own anguish. He must respond to his sense of justice, to his fellowmen's need of liberation; he must even sacrifice himself. Being a free man, he must be able to breathe in a world that is free in order to be truly free himself. He must make his world free, even if he must renounce his freedom on the lower level of detachment. If necessary, he must stain his hands with blood and fill his soul with the memory of deeds that give extreme pain to his civilized and humane sensibility, as did the heroes of the resistance movements who not only killed ruthlessly but risked the lives of their associates on daring assignments and the lives of their relatives who could be executed as hostages. Above all, Sartre's hero is most free when he makes a connection between himself and others. His freedom lies not merely in the repugnance he feels for slavery but in his willingness to affirm by action what he holds by conviction. Man is free only to choose his course of action deliberately with open eyes and with indomitable resolve,—"to choose his bonds," as Sartre has said elsewhere. The "bond" in the case of Orestes is with his people.

Mankind is divided into two classes: those who earn their living by the sweat of their brow, and those who sell them handkerchiefs, cold drinks, and electric fans.

—*Home Life*

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FORUM FEATURES

FORUM takes pleasure in presenting **Dr. Negley K. Teeters,** professor of Criminology and Penology at Temple University. Dr. Teeters, whose article, "Abolish the Jury System," appears on page 7 of this issue, received his Bachelor's degree at Oberlin College and his Master's and Doctor's degrees at Ohio State University in 1944. Dr. Teeters received a grant-in-aid from the State Department to study prisons and penal systems in Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina and Brazil. His studies resulted in "Penology from Panama to Cape Horn," published in 1946. His most recent publications include "World Penal Systems" (1944) and "New Horizons in Criminology" (1943) written with Harry Elmer Barnes.

We know that FORUM readers who have read with interest **Alzada Comstock's** article, "Britain, Loser in Two Wars," in the June FORUM, will like "Britain Tries Economic Planning," on page 1 of this issue. Miss Comstock, a professor of Economics at Mount Holyoke College, writes about Britain with the authority gained by many years of specialized study.

Martin Ebon, author of "Czechoslovakia's Red Premier," on page 14, has been a staff member of the Foreign Policy Association and during the war was Chief of the Foreign News Section of O. W. I.'s Overseas News and Features Bureau.

If you have read and enjoyed the poem, "My Place Has Its Small Fruits," by **Robert P. Tristram Coffin,** you might be interested to know that the author grew up on a Maine saltwater farm and attended a rural red-brick schoolhouse. He later went to Bowdoin College, to Princeton University, then to Oxford as Rhodes scholar. Mr. Coffin received the Pulitzer Prize for his poem, "Strange Holiness."

FORUM readers who have followed the Voice of America controversy in the newspapers of the recent months will be interested in "Speak for Yourself, America," by **Marjorie Foulkrod,** which includes numerous factual and lively quotations from the congressional hearings on the Information and Cultural Affairs program.

"Should Federal Aid Be Extended to Public School Systems?" Alice McGinty says, "Yes." Carol Thompson disagrees. What do you think? Let us hear from you next month in OUR ROSTRUM, FORUM'S platform for readers' opinions.

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